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Ideology Conference Held in Berlin 21-22 Sep

Mittag Addresses Meeting

LD2209143389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1315 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The alliance between the GDR and the socialist countries, as expressed particularly closely in the Warsaw Pact, is a significant historical fact and was of great weight in international politics. This was so in the past, is so in the present, and will not change in the future. This was stated by Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo member Guenter Mittag on Friday in Berlin when speaking to secretaries for ideological questions of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, to whom he conveyed cordial and fraternal greetings from Erich Honecker.

With regard to the forthcoming 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, Mittag said that four decades of the GDR show how the ideas of socialism have changed the world. That socialism has established itself in the GDR and thus on German soil is just as much a victory for the communist and workers' parties and for their shared views as it is a historic defeat for the imperialist opponents. At the same time, this has to be seen in conjunction with the fact that the GDR was founded, developed, and consolidated on the basis of fraternal solidarity and close cooperation with the countries of socialism.

Speaking of imperialist attempts to turn back the wheel of history, Guenter Mittag said that up to now they have failed, just as all future attempts will fail. However, anyone who questions existing frontiers and, under the guise of a "duty of care," interfers on a huge scale in the affairs of other states, is endangering stability in Europe and thus peace.

Speaking of the SED's viewpoint on the importance of ideological work, Mittag said that the ideological struggle is a fight for the minds and hearts of the people, a struggle to give them an insight into the course of social development, in order to stimulate them to action, to defend their true interests. Scientific socialism, which Marx, Engels, and Lenin founded, grew out of this objective necessity. Thus, the ideas of socialism were a great achievement of human thought and have enriched human civilization.

It is the firm conviction of the SED that socialism will continue to develop. There will be no stopping at what has already been achieved, Guenter Mittag said. We, Erich Honecker recently stressed, are able to take qualitatively new steps and our course is determined by the unity of continuity and renewal.

In the preparation for the 12th SED Party Congress, what particularly matters is the further shaping of developed socialist society as a process of profound change and the further implementation of the unity of economic and social policy.

The meeting was attended by representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Korean Party of Labor, the Communist Party of Cuba, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Romanian Communist Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

SED's Hager Speaks

LD2109151689 East Berlin ADN in German 1327 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A regular discussion of the secretaries for ideological questions of the central committees of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries began Thursday in Berlin.

Participants at the meeting are secretaries of the central committees of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], the Korean Workers Party, the Communist Party of Cuba, the Laos Revolutionary People's Party, the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party, the Polish United Workers Party, the Romanian Communist Party, the CPSU and the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

The meeting is an exchange of opinion and experience on current questions of ideological work of the fraternal parties in the process of the socialist construction and strengthening cooperation in the struggle for peace and disarmament.

At the opening Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, noted that deep-reaching processes of change are taking place in our turbulent times on the international level and in the socialist countries. They are making not only higher, but above all qualitatively new demands on the content and shaping of the ideological work of fraternal parties.

The joint efforts in the ideological area should be increased precisely at this moment, when influential circles of monopoly capital are holding fast to the policy of arming and strength, when they are attempting to push the questions and tasks of the peace struggle out of view of the world media and to divert from socialism's peace offensive.

The peace idea, the will for peace, and above all the clear, far-reaching concepts of disarmament, the many-sided initiatives and concrete achievements of the socialist states to preserve world peace should be raised even more into the awareness of the peoples.

"The existence and development, in the center of Europe, of the anti-fascist, socialist German peace state is a significant factor for security and stability on our continent," said Kurt Hager. "In recent months, political and ideological attacks against the states of the socialist community, particularly against the GDR, have tangibly

increased. They range from reform proposals in the bourgeios sense, through distortions and defamations of socialism, to ideological diversion, tangible intervention in the internal affairs, and violation of the sovereignty of socialist states."

Socialism as a whole is supposed to be discredited thereby, and to be eradicated from the consciousness of the peoples as the single alternative to capitalism and for the solution of the development of the Third World.

"In this strained situation," the SED Politburo member stated, "we wish to strengthen our solidarity and cooperation and to come to an understanding with each other as to how the activities of the opponents of socialism can be effectively countered. It is a matter of the future of socialism, the attractiveness of its ideas, values and ideals on the threshold of a new century."

Hager expressed the conviction that it would also be possible at this discussion to openly present the standpoints of the fraternal parties and to conduct a productive exchange of opinion and experience in an atmosphere of objectivity, readiness to understand, and solidarity.

In the following discussion the representatives of the fraternal parties spoke.

The discussion will continue on Friday.

CSSR's Fojtik Addresses Meeting

AU2509145189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Sep 89 pp 1, 7

[Vladimir Plesnik, CTK Berlin dispatch: "Our Ideology's Offensive"]

[Excerpts] Berlin (from our correspondent and CTK)—A conference of central committee secretaries in charge of ideology of the socialist countries' communist and workers parties ended in the GDR capital of Berlin on Friday [22 September]. [passage omitted]

In the course of the debate on Friday, Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, took the floor.

In his address he stressed the need for such meetings, especially at present as revolutionary social changes are taking hold in individual socialist countries. Such exchanges of experiences and views benefit the further development and strengthening of cooperation, while respecting the heterogeneousness and specific nature of conditions in each individual country, Jan Fojtik said.

In the course of the conference, the Czechoslovak delegation head met for a bilateral talk with Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. They briefed one another on the implementation of restructuring in their countries, exchanged experiences from the CPCZ's and the CPSU's ideological work, and discussed further forms of interaction in this sphere.

They stressed in unison that the communist parties are the forces which have inspired all current social transformations in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and that, at the same time, they represent the guarantee of the successful materialization of the process of restructuring. [passage omitted]

Friday evening, the CPCZ Central Committee delegation left Berlin for home.

Press Statement Issued

LD2209194489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1700 GMT 22 Sep 89

["Press Statement on the Consultations of the Secretaries for Ideological Questions of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries"—ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On 21 and 22 September 1989 consultations took place in Berlin, capital of the GDR, between the secretaries for ideological questions of the central committees of the communist workers' parties of socialist countries. The participants were:

From the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Yordan Yotov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee [CC],

From the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] Janos Barabas, member of the Political Executive Committee and Secretary of the MSZMP CC,

From the Vietnamese Communist Party [CPV] Dao Duy Tung, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPV CC,

From the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Kurg Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED CC and Joachim Hermann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED CC,

From the Korean Workers' Party [WPK] Choe Tae-pok, secretary of the WPK CC,

From the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] Jorge Risquet, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PCC CC and Jose Ramon Balaguer Cabrera, secretary of the PCC CC,

From the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] Somlat Chanthamat, secretary of the LPRP CC,

From the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Tserenpiliyn Balhaajav, secretary of the MPRP CC,

From the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Slawomir Wiatr, secretary of the PZPR CC, Marek Krol, secretary of the PZPR CC,

From the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee and secretary of the RCP CC,

From the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Vadim A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU CC,

From the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPCZ.

In an atmosphere of mutual understanding and solidarity the participants in the consultations conducted an exchange of views and experiences on current ideological tasks of the fraternal parties in constructing socialism and in the struggle for peace and disarmament. They discussed considerations and proposals, and agreed on measures to further develop bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the field of ideology and propaganda and scientific and cultural policy, and to effectively shape bilateral and multilateral cooperation on the basis of creative application and enrichment of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

The participants in the consultations briefed one another on current development issues in their countries. It was emphasized that in the further construction of socialism, its improvement, restructuring or renewal, such issues are increasingly coming to the fore such as developing the political system on the basis of socialist democracy, raising the living standard and safeguarding human rights and freedoms. The importance of a high level of development of the productive forces, based on the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution in close cooperation with social progress, protecting the natural environment, raising the education level, and enriching culture was emphasized.

The representatives of the fraternal parties affirmed their determination to continued the creative application of the principles of scientific socialism on the basis of the general logic of the construction of socialist society and according to the experiences, conditions, traditions, and requirements of their countries and the variety of possible ways, forms, and variants of socialist development. In this considerable import is attached to the historic role and responsibility of their fraternally linked parties, as vanguard of the working class and the popular masses. Every party is to work out and realize independently its political line, its strategy, and tactics. For this it will be responsible to its own people. The party representatives spoke out in favor of continuing their regular exchanges of experiences and views on the common ground and peculiarities in the approach to solving issues of social development that must be tackled and consolidating cooperation.

Increasing responsibility is being placed on the mass media as an important tool of political and ideological work for portraying life as well as developments in the socialist countries, for propagating the achievements, values, and ideals of socialism. One of their priority tasks is to make a more convincing contribution to consolidating friendship, trust, and deepening cooperation between the socialist countries.

Scientific and theoretical work on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the creative experiences of the fraternal parties is of extraordinary importance. Starting from the premise that in spite of all the variety of specific forms and ways of building socialism, the fraternal parties are bound by common goals and ideals, the necessity was underlined of theoretically evaluating socialism's historic path to date and its current problems and making these experiences useful for the nations' and parties' work. They see in this a significant contribution to the enrichment of Marxism-Leninism and the debate on socialism's present and future.

The participants in the meeting underlined the necessity of a resolute struggle against anticommunism and the ideology and policies of imperialism, and rejection of propaganda directed against socialism which is particularly carried out on the pretext of defending human rights and liberties. The parties' representatives resolutely rejected any interference by imperialist forces in the internal affairs of socialist countries which disregards international law, any disturbance of the processes going on within them from outside, and attempts to destabilize them, bring them into disrepute, and divert them from the socialist path.

The participants in the consultations declared their solidarity with all those countries that are currently being exposed to especially intense attacks by imperialist circles, above all the GDR, Cuba, and the DPRK.

The necessity was emphasized of giving a decisive rebuff in the ideological work to each manifestation of revanchism and chauvinism and to all attempts to sow the seeds of enmity between the peoples. The participants in the consultations expressed their concern at increasing manifestations of neo-Nazism in some capitalist countries.

The participants in the consultations spoke in favor of a just solution to the problems of backwardness, poverty, hunger, and foreign indebtedness, which burden the developing countries, and against the exploitation of these countries by international financial capital.

They are of the opinion that the greatest attention must be devoted to preserving and improving the environment and increasing mankind's ecological security.

The consultations took place in an open, constructive, and comradely atmosphere. The participants in the consultations expressed their gratitude to the SED for the good organization and running of their meeting. It was agreed to hold the next consultations between the secrtaries for ideological question of the Central Committees of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

No Discussion of Refugees

LD2209194889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] In Berlin, at the regular session of the communist parties' ideological secretaries, Janos Barabas, head of the Hungarian delegation, gave a press briefing. Ivan Bedoe reports:

[Bedoe] The communist parties functioning in 12 socialist countries profess differing views; they face up in different ways to the country's complex internal situation. In spite of this, a patient, understanding, democratic atmosphere prevailed at the Berlin consultation. This was what Janos Barabas, Central Committee secretary, told Hungarian journalists who work here.

The Hungarian participants, like other participants, could take on themselves some hints voiced by their partners, but no one criticized by name any country's practice. The atmosphere of the consultation was more calm than the statements intended for the press in some countries.

The GDR representatives, who were the hosts, voiced their stand, that had been emphasized for weeks, that imperialism is attacking socialism with increasing fierceness. They did not insist that the others necessarily identify with this standpoint. There was no discussion of the Hungarian-GDR differences of view, the impact of the refugees' affair. This is not even viewed as an interparty affair, but as the matter of governments. Janos Barabas also called it to attention that, at divergence from previous years, the ideological secretaries did not incorporate the thesis on the party's leading role in the joint communique this year. This follows unequivocally from the Polish situation and the Hungarian position.

Cami Speaks at Ceremony in Gjirokaster

AU1909120989 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 19 Sep 89

["The People of Gjirokaster Enthusiastically Commemorated the 45th Anniversary of the Formation of the 14th Shock Brigade and the Liberation of the City"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, September 19 (ATA)—In the joyful atmosphere of the jubilee of the 45th anniversary on the liberation of the homeland, the people of Gjirokaster District commemorated the 45th anniversary of the formation of the 14th Shock Brigade and of the liberation of the city.

Homage was paid and wreaths were laid on the martyrs' graves of the district. On behalf of the Party Central Committee the wreath was laid by Comrade Foto Cami, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Party Central Committee and Manxhar Binaj, first secretary of the District Party Committee.

Comrade Foto Cami and leading cadres of the district party and power organs laid bouquets of flowers on the monument to Comrade Enver Hoxha and honoured with the fist up his immortal memory.

Then in the Cerciz Topulli Square a festive rally was organized. Comrade Foto Cami, delegate of the Party Central Committee, the Council of Ministers and the General Council of the DFA [Democratic Front of Albania] greeted those present.

The commemoration of the war events, he said among the other things, fills with pride the generation that lived at that time, but it also displays the honour of the present generation for those who made innumerable sacrifices for the freedom and independence of the country. We recall and will always recall the stormy years of this legendary epic, because in the heat of this struggle, with the blood shed by the best sons of the people, there were laid the foundations of the new Albania, there were opened the roads to the happy life we are leading today.

The liberation of Gjirokaster city, he went on, is one of the most brilliant pages of the biography of the 14th Shock Brigade. Although newly formed, it reared in the heat of struggle arousing horror for the enemy and hopes for the people, it tempered in battles and came out always triumphant.

In this city, he said, there was born and reared the legendary leader of the National Liberation War, the founder of our party and people's power, the architect of the new Albania, the greatest statesman that has emerged from the Albanian nation so far, our dear and unforgettable teacher, Enver Hoxha. His name and deed are engraved in stone and marble, they are implanted in our hearts, they are embodied in the attained victories and peaks we have reached. They are a powerful inspiration and guide for action to march always forward with courage and creative spirit on the brilliant road designed by him.

Further on, Comrade Foto Cami said that for 45 years now we live free and happy in our homeland. Magnificent transformations have taken place everywhere under these years.

After speaking of the socialist transformations that have taken place in all walks of life in the district of Gjirokaster, he stressed that a sound moral political atmosphere prevails everywhere and the unity of the people is stronger than ever. In the process of the struggle to further uplift the people's well-being, it is completely tested the vitality of our socialist order, the revolutionary persistence and determination of our people to translate into life the program of the party.

The bourgeois propaganda and reactionary scribblers of all hues, he stressed further on, profiting from the capitalist restoration that has swept over the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries as Poland and Hungary, have spearheaded their poisonous arrows against socialism, considering it as a desperate order with no prospects. But the crisis these countries are experiencing is not a crisis of socialism. It is a crisis of their revisionist system itself, logical end of their anti-Marxist course. It is the farsightedness of our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, that since the birth of Khrushchevite revisionism we forecast and warned that it would lead to undermining of socialism and the complete restoration of capitalism. Today the whole world is witness to this great tragedy with grave consequences for the revolutionary and liberation movement, for the cause of communism.

Our 45-year experience has fully convinced us that socialism built according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism has all forces and possibilities to guarantee a non-stop and all-sided development and progress. Naturally in the process of development different problems arise, but socialism has its roads, forms, and methods for their solution. To us are alien and unacceptable Gorbachev's perestroyka, that have plunged the Soviet Union and their followers into a great chaos, and no one knows how they will come out of it.

The steel-like unity of the people round the party, he stressed, has been and remains a reliable and decisive source of our strength, of the invincibility of our socialist order, a guarantee for the present and brilliant future of our people. This monolithic unity forged by the party in the heroic struggle for the country's liberation and in the process of the great socialist transformations, lies in the foundations of the people's power, of the freedom and independence of the homeland.

The policy of good neighbourliness pursued by socialist Albania, Comrade Foto Cami continued, has been and remains constant and unchanged. This spirit has pervaded and pervades even the development of relations with our neighbour of the south, Greece. As in the past,

at present and in the future too Albania will not spare its efforts that the relations between the two countries develop and expand in all the fields to the good of our friendly peoples. We have appreciated and appreciate the positive predisposition of neighbouring Greece for the strengthening and development of relations with our country.

An important factor of friendship with Greece has become Greek minority living in Albania. The inhabitants of minority enjoy all the democratic freedoms and rights, acquire schooling in the mother tongue, develop their arts and culture. One finds the sons of minority working everywhere as physicians, teachers, engineers, agronomists, they are elected to all the people's power organs and side by side with the Albanian brothers, they are working to flourish our common homeland. The party and people's power have created all the conditions so that they live in freedom, full equality, in harmony with the Albanian brothers, linked with them by common ideals.

Quite the opposite happens in Yugoslavia, where the Albanians are third-placed as for the number of population, do not enjoy the rights as all the other nations and nationalities in this multinational state. On the contrary, they are oppressed, murdered, imprisoned, discriminated, something that has revolted the whole progressive international opinion. The Albanians living in their territories in Yugoslavia do not ask for privileges, but they want only the rights they have won through struggle as all the peoples of Yugoslavia. They want to be equal as all the others to develop economy, well-being, language, their national tradition and culture. This is a legitimate and incontestable demand.

Everywhere in our country, he said, preparations are being made to celebrate magnificently the glorious jubilee of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of our dear homeland and of the triumph of the people's revolution. Distinguishing characteristic of these days is the enthusiasm and mobilization at work, the great optimism that inspires the whole people to see to this memorable event with fresh victories.

In conclusion, Comrade Foto Cami said that the party is confident that Gjirokaster and the people of Gjirokaster will be always in the vanguard for the realization and overfulfillment of the plan, they will set an example to others, they will lead on the road of Enver.

In the context of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and on occasion of the 165th anniversary of the birth of the distinguished patriot of renaissance, the teacher of the people Koto Hoxhi, his bust was inaugurated in Qestorat, his birthplace, in the region of Lunxheri.

Attending the ceremony organized on this occasion in the center of the village were also Comrade Foto Cami and leading cadres of the party and power in the districts.

Amidst the enthusiasm of those present, Comrade Foto Cami unveiled the bust of Koto Hoxhi, by the merited sculptor from Gjirokaster, Ksenofon Kostaqi.

Taking the floor in the ceremony, Comrade Foto Cami pointed among others to the patriotic traditions, the struggle for liberation and independence, for the Albanian language and school the inhabitants of this zone have waged, as well as the outstanding activity of the great patriot of renaissance, the son of Lunxheri, Koto Hoxhi. He also stressed that the party not only has preserved these freedom-loving patriotic traditions of the patriots of renaissance, of the years of the Antifascist National Liberation War, but it has enriched and developed them further in the years of the socialist construction and the defence of the homeland, in service of the patriotic and revolutionary education of the masses, the younger generation in particular.

Besides, Comrade Foto Cami visited the Gallery of Figurative Arts of the city, where the exhibition of applied arts in embroidery "Motives From Dropull" by Stavi Cati, painter from Dropull, opened.

Voice of Turkey Broadcasts Denounced

AU2609162589 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No 38, 20 Sep 89 pp 10, 11

[Stefka Purvanona article: "Voice of Instigation"]

[Excerpts] "Be strong! We are thinking about you! We are organizing meetings and demonstrations. We shall be together again. Do not think that you are forgotten. You tell the new generations about the paradise of Turkey and about your relatives there. We also know that we have relatives, the Bulgarian Turks, that are in the same family as all Turks. The 1 billion-strong Islamic world is behind us. We 200 million Turks are one and the same."

"Utilizing all possible means, Turkey will continue to make efforts to restore the rights of our compatriots. We prefer that they continue to live in a land that for centuries we considered our motherland, however, Turkey is determined and ready to shelter all of its compatriots. Our compatriots in Bulgaria know that they will never be forgotten."

The first quotation is taken from the letter of Ali Gongor, an emigrant from Bulgaria, broadcast on 24 October 1987 by the Voice of Turkey radio station. The second is taken from the "clarifications" of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in connection with restoring train traffic along the Munich-Istanbul line, arbitrarily interrupted by Turkey on 25 August, broadcast by the same radio station on 2 September 1989.

Every objective reader will discover in both quotations the overtly anti-Bulgarian approach and pan-Turkish aspirations to convince certain Bulgarian citizens that they are not a part of the Bulgarian people, but of the "200 million-strong Turkish nation," and nobody other than the Ankara regime is defending their rights and interests. [passage omitted]

For a long period of time the broadcasts of the radio station, transmitted on the hour (with minor exceptions), have begun with anti-Bulgarian news, despite the fact that many other important events have taken place throughout the world on the same day. However, they do not interest the station, because the anti-Bulgarian campaign is the main direction of the radio station and Turkish foreign policy and propaganda. There is not a single statement of any Turkish governmental or political leader aimed against Bulgaria, or any anti-Bulgarian manifestation, that is not being repeatedly reported by the station. On certain days the news and press review of anti-Bulgarian contents make up almost the entire news bulletin. [passage omitted]

In the last 5 years the station has regularly carried letters of Turkish relatives of Bulgarian Muslims, prerecorded or read by announcers, which, in addition to the news about their "excellent" situation, also contain instigatory appeals. Last spring our citizens were warned to refrain from building houses or from incurring debts because soon they will emigrate to Turkey, where the relatives and leaders are expecting them with "open arms." Recently the station has been carrying letters of our citizens who have recently arrived in Turkey. The "terror" and "pressure" of the Bulgarians are constant elements of those letters, which often state that sooner or later the "Bulgarian authorities will have to pay," threats that also appear in the statements and speeches of Turkish officials.

It is impossible to list all of the anti-Bulgarian "weapons" of the Voice of Turkey's propaganda arsenal. This station is not ashamed to utilize the most brutal propaganda weapons in its broadcasts in an attempt to erode the consciousness of the Bulgarian citizens and to insert confusion and doubt in their souls.

Muslims Returning From Turkey Tested for Disease

AU2709030789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Sep 89 p 2

[Vanyo Stoilov report: "Peculiar Traveling"]

[Excerpts] More than 20,000 Bulgarian citizens have returned from the Republic of Turkey. However, this dry announcement conceals not only thousands of different fates but also the multidirectional concern of the Bulgarian authorities at the time of their arrival....

Every trip has its own peculiarities. For many of the Bulgarian citizens who are returning from Turkey the peculiarities were represented by the numerous humiliations they had to experience in trying to utilize their legal right to return to the motherland. There are numerous tales about detention, police investigations, and the continuous withholding of Bulgarian passports. [passage omitted]

One of the main concerns of the Bulgarian authorities now is related to the total medical and sanitary control of the returning Bulgarian citizens. The alarming reports about various epidemics in Turkey, as well as the abnormal conditions under which our compatriots have lived in camps and schools, require intensified measures to block any possibility of infection. Therefore, on 18 September a special medical station opened at the border checkpoint. Doctors and other medical personnel from the hospitals in Khaskovo and Svilengrad, and the Hygiene-Epidemic Institute in Khaskovo are on duty around the clock. They check all returning Bulgarian citizens for parasites, and disinfect whenever needed. The following fact, imparted by Dr Vasil Dyakov from Khaskovo, shows that this measure is not far-fetched: Out of 270 returning travelers, checked within 24 hours, 45 have been found to have lice.

Citizens of the Khaskovo Oblast are tested on the spot for cholera, malaria, abdominal typhus, and AIDS. The other citizens will be tested at their places of residence. Fortunately, so far there have been no positive findings.

I am describing in detail the medical control at the border, because somehow it remains overlooked by observers, however, it is as important as the passport and customs control. Of course, all laws on crossing Bulgaria's state border fully apply to those who are returning. However, it seems that the customs authorities have an easier job now that the huge piles of luggage, that were evident in the summer, "disappeared' along the dusty roads toward Istanbul and Anatolia. [passage omitted)

Now there are also Bulgarian citizens, who having obtained the regular Turkish visa, depart for Turkey. About 10 cars are crossing the border daily. It is very important for those who depart to observe the specific requirement of the Turkish authorities—to travel with only 1 or 2 pieces of luggage, in accordance with the term of the Turkish visa. Several days ago I witnessed how the crossing of the border by 3 private cars from Dulovo had to be postponed until their owners returned a part of the luggage they had taken with them. The travelers explanations that they were going to Turkey to pick up their relatives was unconvincing when weighed against the loaded cars.

There is yet another conspicuous fact. I do not know the basis on which the Turkish entrance visas are being granted, however, it appears that representatives of the intelligentsia have priority. Teachers from Ruse and a doctor from Kurdzhali were among those who departed on Tuesday. Of course, every Bulgarian citizen has the right to travel abroad. However the following legitimate question could be asked: Is it the issue of uniting separated families that motivates the issue of entrance visas, or is it rather other considerations that influence the selection? [passage omitted]

Foreign Tourists Required to Change Currency

AU2309175189 Sofia BTA in English
1606 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Announcement of the Bulgarian Association of Recreation and Tourism"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 23 (BTA)—As of October 1, 1989, all foreigners visiting Bulgaria or passing through her territory in transit and coming from countries with which Bulgaria settles her accounts in non-socialist currency are obliged to change a hard currency minimum with the purpose of making provisions for their stay in this country.

The size of the obligatory minimum currency change is 15 U.S. dollars per capita a day or their equivalent in any other convertible currency. Those passing in transit must change a lump sum of 10 U.S. dollars per capita or their equivalent in any other convertible currency.

The obligatory minimum change is not applicable to certain categories of foreign citizens, including package tourists, children under 16 travelling with their parents, etc.

The obligatory minimum currency is to be changed at the respective tourist-service offices at the border checkpoints in the zone of passport examination and customs control.

The practice of an obligatory minimum currency change or declaring a certain minimum amount in convertible currency has already been adopted in a number of socialist and developed capitalist countries.

Textile Production Cooperation With SFRY

AU2209145789 Sofia BTA in English
1348 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 22 (BTA)—The Bulgarian company "Pamukotex" and the firm "Makotex" of Skopje will extend their cooperation by enriching it with new forms of interaction. The agreement that was signed today provides for the establishment of a joint enterprise in the form of a limited liability company seated in Skopje. The enterprise will produce cotton yarn. Bulgaria will develop the technology and will supply the enterprise with the necessary equipment, while its products will be used to satisfy the respective needs of the two countries.

The two companies will also set up a joint enterprise for the production of raw cotton textile (semi-finished products) in the town of Strumitsa. An agreement was reached to open a joint representative shop in Sofia early next year.

Yordanov Receives UNICEF Official

AU2409192989 Sofia BTA in English
1722 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 24 (BTA)—Mr Reinhard Freiberg, director of the European branch of UNICEF, is paying a visit to Bulgaria. Today he was received by Mr Gerogi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Special stress was laid on Bulgaria's useful cooperation of long standing. The guest expressed his satisfaction with the care bestowed by the Bulgarian Government and the society for the health, the well-being and the harmonious development of children. Some problems of the extension and the promotion of Bulgaria's relations with UNICEF were also discussed.

Zhivkov Receives Departing Libyan Ambassador

AU2609085589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Sep 89 p 1

[Text] On 20 September Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, received Muftah al-Ustah 'Umar, secretary of the People's Bureau of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah in Bulgaria, in connection with his final departure from the country.

The meeting was attended by Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Atanasov Meets Departing Japanese Ambassador

AU2209152089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Atanasov received today Massami Tanida, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Japan to Bulgaria, in connection with his final departure from Bulgaria. Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, took part in the meeting.

Rumors of Price Rises Denied by Ministry

AU2209193889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] During the past few days the Bulgarian radio and television has received many telephone calls from citizens who report with alarm that rumors are spreading in Sofia and other parts of the country concerning forthcoming rises in the prices of a number of goods.

In this connection, we approached the Ministry of Planning and Economy for information. It was stated quite categorically by the ministry that the rumors are completely groundless and that no price rises are either to take place or are envisaged.

Role of Party Organs Under Restructuring Viewed

AU2709093589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Sep 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Collective Organs of Political Leadership"]

[Excerpts] Restructuring, which is taking place in our country, confirms that the leading and guiding role of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] is an objective natural law and a requirement for our society's development. [passage omitted]

However, a substantial number of the party committees adapts too slowly to the wave of the new requirements. This applies to anything related to renewing their functions, relieving themselves of extrinsic functions, and mastering essential functions of political leadership. What we mean is the analysis and assessment of facts, processes, and phenomena, separating the party functions from the functions of state and economic organizations; eliminating the preoccupation with extrinsic functions; and overcoming the administrative-edict style, which still exist in many places. It is unjustified that many capacities and means are still being invested in the developing and bureaucratic activity of the local party organs, instead of conducting a more active, specific, flexible, and aggressive ideological-educational and organizational activity among the people.

The dynamics of social restructuring also require accelerating the renewal process in the party. Conditions for this were created by the "Basic Premises on Functions and Structure of Party Organs and Their Apparatus Under Conditions of Restructuring," recently adopted by the BCP Central Committee Secretariat. Now it is especially important to immediately begin to study this document, which summarizes the premises of the BCP Central Committee July and December (1988) Plenums on the BCP role, place, and tasks at the present stage, penetrate its essence, and most of all, implement in life its ideas and intentions. It is completely natural to conduct this activity as an important and integral part of the preparations for the 14th BCP Congress and the events marking the party's 100th anniversary. [passage omitted]

It is an immediate task to really separate the functions of party and other organs and organizations, without diverting attention from coordinating all social factors in the direction of the July Concept, while simultaneously implementing systematic political control through the analysis of the results of every activity. We must not replace the state, economic, and public organs and organizations, and the companies' leaderships, and seize their right and responsibility to determine themselves how to solve their tasks within the framework of the law and in accordance with the public interests.

The cadre policy and work is another important area of political leadership. Achieving restructuring's desired results and final goals depends to a large degree on the fact that political workers—both payroll and nonpayroll—will be promoted to the party organs, and on the manner in which they will be promoted. It is a mandatory requirement that they are people with high political, professional, and general culture and competence, rich life experience, analytical minds, and moral purity. They must be fierce supporters of restructuring and work for its success. They must have creative, thinking, and acting personalities, capable of initiating things, firmly connected with the people, and always open to the people. The democratization of the process of their selection for, placement in, and release from office, with the views of the primary party organization and labor collective being taken into consideration, and the general application of the principle of competition, rotation, renewal, and periodic reporting—this is the positive guarantee that such people will be attracted to. [passage omitted]

It is time to really increase the responsibility and intensify the activity of the party committees. By expanding the social principle of their work and with the careful and competent assistance of the bureaus and apparatus they must turn into really working collective organs of political leadership. For this purpose it is necessary to correctly determine the priorities, main directions, methods, means, and forms of their activity, in accordance with the BCP traditions, the basic organizational principles, and the requirements of the specific political moment. Their members and candidate members must actively participate in preparing the plenums and their discussions, in adopting and implementing decisions, and in implementing the party contact and systematic relations with the primary organizations. Naturally, they

will be unable to successfully implement their obligations, if they have no access to the meetings of the bureaus, commissions, and departments, as well as access to information of any kind and at all levels. The time has come to assess the work of this or that party organ not on the basis of the number of meetings, issues that have been discussed, programs that have been worked out, and decisions that have been adopted, but on the basis of the results. The change in the style must first take place in the work of the party committees' bureaus, and their commissions.

Improving the structure of the party committees and their apparatus is not a goal in itself. It will contribute to further increasing the party role as the political vanguard of society in anything related to implementing the July Concept, which now is our main and decisive goal.

Dzhurov, Stoyanov Attend Army Anniversary

AU2209190189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] A festive meeting was held in the Central Club of the Bulgarian People's Army in Sofia today to mark the 45th anniversary of the formation of the Bulgarian People's Army. The meeting was attended by Comrades Dimitur Stoyanov, Dobri Dzhurov, and Nacho Papazov; deputy ministers of national defense; generals, officers, and soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army; representatives of Sofia society, and military attaches accredited to Bulgaria.

Professor Olga Polyakova from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences delivered a greetings message to the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army.

Colonel General Ivan Gashkov, representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces with the Bulgarian People's Army, congratulated the Bulgarian soldiers on their festive day.

In his speech, Col Gen Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense, traced the historical development of the Bulgarian People's Army, heir to the glorious revolutionary traditions of the times of the antifascist struggle and defender of the peaceful achievements of our native land.

The speaker dwelled on the profound changes that are taking place in all spheres of life in Bulgaria. He spoke of the restructuring under way in the Bulgarian People's Army. The main direction of the further development of the Bulgarian People's Army is now to bring its organizational structure into line with the principle of reasonable sufficiency.

The task of establishing among the military cadres a new, contemporary style of thought and work, to promote efficiency, good organization, initiative, and creativity, now acquires especial importance. The military cadres are now required, as never before, to show high professionalism and competence, inventiveness, and a high sense of responsibility, Colonel General Khristo Dobrev stressed.

Dzhurov Views Role

AU2709001389 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian No 12267/12268 23 Sep 89 pp 1, 4

[Article by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense: "Vocation and Duty"]

[Excerpts] Twenty-three September is the Combat Day of the Bulgarian People's Army. On that day in the revolutionary September 1923 for the first time in history our people dared to demand their right to free labor and dignified human existence in an unequal struggle. [passage omitted]

The first postwar days were characterized by the organizational-structural and cadre construction of the Army. New in its spirit and character, our Army had to insert new contents in the training and education of the personnel. It had to be in line with the requirements of Marxist-Leninist teaching and Soviet military science. Georgi Dimitrov said: "Our Army must feel itself to be an integral part of the Soviet Army. We must have uniform tasks, organization, and weapons, and a uniform military science—the Soviet one."

Cardinal tasks were solved within a brief period thanks to the selfless assistance of the USSR and the Soviet Army. Under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], our Army was purged [prochistena] of the reactionary and conspiratorial elements. The cadres who were most loyal to the party and the people were sent to study in our and USSR military establishments. We advanced toward rearming the Bulgarian People's Army with Soviet weapons and equipment.

The decisions of the BCP Central Committee April 1956 and October 1958 Plenums were especially vital for the Bulgarian People's Army. Under the leadership of the BCP Central Committee, great work was conducted in the Army for restoring the Leninist principles and norms of party life and leadership under conditions of the Armed Forces. Theoretical and practical issues related to strengthening the Army were worked out with the personal participation of Comrade Todor Zhivkov. A struggle began for decisively increasing the role of the party organizations and strengthening the activity of the Komsomol associations and organizations in the Army. Unrelenting efforts were invested in increasing the troops' combat power. This allowed the Bulgarian People's Army in the following years to grow as a modern army of great combat ability, and a worthy member of the Warsaw Pact. [passage omitted]

After the 13th BCP Congress and the BCP Central Committee July Plenum the Ministry of National

Defense developed a long-range program on restructuring at all levels. Many issues of the Army's construction and development are successfully being solved. The quality factors in training the troops and staffs are improving and broad political, scientific, and practical-applicable work was developed for further implementing the program of restructuring and the tasks set by the conference of the all-party aktiv. The goal is clear—achieving a qualitatively new level of combat readiness.

In recent years the new political thinking caused a significant weakening of tension, detente in the international situation, and improving the political climate. Loyal to their consistent and peace-loving foreign policy the Warsaw Pact member countries announced a unilateral reduction of their armed forces. Measures are being implemented now for bringing the quantity of troops and weapons to the level of reasonable defense sufficiency. The People's Republic of Bulgaria, loyal to its international duty, is actively participating in the preparation of peace-loving forums at the world, European, and regional level.

However, there are forces in the world that contradict the good sense and oppose the striving for peace and disarmament. Artificial obstacles are being erected along the road of the peaceful proposals. The regional conflicts and actions from the position of force are continuing. The United States and their NATO partners are improving the existing conventional weapons and plan new ones, whose combat capacity comes close to and occasionally exceeds the capacity of tactical nuclear weapons.

Recently the situation in the Balkan Peninsula was especially exacerbated. This caused a deterioration in the region's political climate. The leading circles and all mass media in the Republic of Turkey are conducting a hostile anti-Bulgarian campaign. The anticommunism of the Turkish political and military leadership is a continuation of the policy of pan-Turkism, that has been conducted until now, and consolidation of the reactionary tendencies of Ankara's foreign policy course.

This situation requires from us to maintain high political vigilance and develop the struggle for peace and for solving the regional conflicts by political means.

In this situation we attribute great importance to training and educating the military cadres. [passage omitted]

Now it is especially important to master the democratic style of work and leadership and overcome formalism and ostentation in the work and assert an atmosphere of creativity and mutual respect. The further democratization of Army life requires the assertion of the principle of one-man command, increases the military cadres' exigence and responsibility, and strengthens military discipline.

Now more than ever before the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army are rallied around the BCP Central Committee. They greet their holiday with new successes in combat and political training. They are always ready under any conditions to implement their patriotic and international duty in a united formation with the invincible Soviet Army and the fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact member countries.

Civilian Relations Hailed

AU2609135189 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 25 Sep 89 p 1

[Editorial: "People and Army"]

[Text] The people and army are united and indivisible!

This monolithic unity is a unique source of a great power!

There is practically no Bulgarian citizen who is not directly related to the Bulgarian People's Army. The officers, sergeants, and soldiers are sons, brothers, sisters, (women with or without rank are working now in the army), grandsons, fathers, husbands, relatives, loved ones, and friends of the people. They are all linked by blood. Generations are changing under the combat banners. They move from the army to the reserve forces. Most of the women—doctors, nurses, telephone operators—also take part in fateful moments of our destiny. Indeed, history shows that in time of war the army and those at home are an inseparable unit.

However, the essence of the organic unity between the people and army does not merely mean blood, kin, and friendship relations. The people and army are living the same life and have the same interests, goals, tasks, and aspirations. The army defends the people's peaceful work and the achievements of the socialist revolution. It exerts to a large extent great influence over society's moral character. It is a school of heroism, patriotism, internationalism, and ideological tempering of the young generation. It is not only the defense capability of our motherland that depends on the essence and quality of this school, but to a large extent also the successes in constructing our new socialist society. This is so because today's soldiers are society's future constructors. The firm, tempered, ideologically convinced, disciplined, and selfless defender of the motherland is capable of excelling as social constructor, after the change in his social role.

The entire atmosphere in the family, school, and student, labor, and army collectives must facilitate the education of the future defenders of our motherland and prepare the youth for their military service. The successful solution of this uniform task is not a simple and easy thing. There are many unsolved problems as well as the indisputable successes in this aspect. New unhealthy tendencies and negative phenomena are emerging. They are and must be an object of the restructuring which is taking place in the country and army. Thus we will release great

but still unutilized potential capacities which will increase our army's combat ability.

In addition to the most precious factor—the people—the army has other great material resources. Modern tanks and missiles, aircraft and vessels, artillery and firearms, communication equipment.... Everything that is necessary in our Armed Forces' life and activity. The people ensure the means for their creation, while the soldiers master the art of maintaining and using them. This is the iron-clad logic imposed by the imperfection of world human relations.

Today mankind faces a crucial turning point which will decide their future. The positive tendencies in international relations are a result of the new political thinking. They are positive, but hardly are a reason for complacency. Therefore the people and army deeply understand the necessity of maintaining reasonable defense sufficiency.

There is no honest and sensible Bulgarian citizen who is not proud of the fact that he has a son, who is a soldier, sergeant, or officer, or that he himself has served in the army. Ever more effective measures of comprehensively training youth for serving in the army are being implemented with the joint efforts of the state, party, Komsomol, and other social organizations. According to an ancient tradition, our people festively send their sons to serve under the combat banners, and instruct them to implement their lofty duty with pride, honor, and dignity. The commanders, political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations, in close contact with the local party, state organs and labor collectives, must intensify the military-patriotic education of the people and youth, increase the public activity of the soldiers, and elevate to a higher degree their interest in honest service in the name of our motherland's security and world peace. Diverse forms and means of work are to be used for this purpose. The various initiatives, implemented on the Day of the Bulgarian People's Army, are especially indicative in this respect. Thus our combat holiday was enriched with new contents. We talk about those events with a deep faith that they will become a tradition and that their ideas will prevail in constantly expanding and strengthening the process of unity between the people and army.

Problem of Agricultural Reform Surveyed

AU2609234189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Sep 89 p 4

[Article by Senior Scientific Fellow Konstantin Yakimov, candidate of economic sciences: "On Restructuring Agriculture"]

[Text] It is wrong, or at least inaccurate, to state that now, for the first time, an attempt is being made to restructure agriculture in Bulgaria and the socialist camp as a whole. Quite the contrary, many attempts have been made in the past, but the results were unsatisfactory, and in some cases even with negative effects.

In order for this latest attempt to renew our agriculture in the conditions of socialism to be crowned with success, it is necessary—and I stress this, because notes of pessimism are being heard concerning the possibilities of socialism as a system—to create a mechanism in the widest sense of this concept that will galvanize into action those directly engaged in production and those who are directly or indirectly related to the branch, so that everyone works to the best of his abilities and extracts from nature everything that it offers us.

It is difficult to prove the extent to which those engaged in agriculture have been utilizing their possibilities, or how far they have made use of nature, but if one bears in mind the fact that human capabilities are theoretically unlimited, and if one considers the conditions in which the northern peoples are developing agriculture and the results they are obtaining, all this gives us much food for serious thought.

It is an elementary truth that all conscious human activity is subordinate to a predetermined goal, and it is also well-known that one of the crucial conditions for the success of a particular enterprise is a clear and well-formulated goal. Accordingly, before passing on to discuss specific practical actions for restructuring agriculture, it is necessary to clearly outline and formulate the goal that we are setting ourselves. In my view, it may be defined as follows: to increase the productivity of labor invested in the branch, in order to achieve the end result of improving agricultural production both in quantity and quality; to meet the domestic market's demands with home-produced products as far as our resources allow; to strengthen our agriculture's positions in the international market, to the extent that benefit is likely to be obtained from this, in view of the natural conditions and our traditions and experience; and to correspondingly increase the incomes of those employed in the branch, so that they live better and more prosperously. Formulated in this way, the goal may guarantee success in the restructuring of our agriculture under the conditions of socialism. The efforts of the party and government in relation to agriculture have been subordinated to this goal for more than 3 decades, but unfortunately have failed to produce the desired results. One must therefore draw the conclusion that a clear formulation of the goal is a necessary, but insufficient condition for ensuring success.

The development of agricultural production, like any human activity, should be regarded as a logical task.

Until now, the conditions under which attempts to resolve this task were made were as follows: a form of management based on normative documents drawn up on the principle of democratic centralism; public ownership of the means of production; and an appropriate form of organization of production. The first two conditions were regarded as well-known (constant values), while the third was a variable or unknown quantity. In the quest for a solution to this complex task, several decades have now elapsed. Many reorganizations and

attempts at renewal have been made. Many forms of organization have been tried, but instead of agriculture advancing, a trend of stagnation, and in some cases even slipping back, has emerged. All this made it necessary to look into that part of the problem's conditions that until recently was regarded as a correct starting point, a guarantee of the success that still cannot be attained. Our party did this at its July 1987 Plenum and the regular party conference that followed a little later. At these two forums the debates entered, so to speak, hitherto forbidden zones. I refer to the forms and agents of power, and the party's place and functions in managing the economy and society. Here many stereotyped molds were broken in relation to property. **A broad frontal attack was opened on everything that holds up our advance along the road of progress. It is now necessary to bring things to completion. To the question of whether we will succeed in doing this, the optimists answer in the affirmative. However, doubt is raised among the skeptics, who fear that everything will subside and die away for reasons that are at first sight incomprehensible.**

The problem of ownership is naturally an open one both for science and for practice. Since it is a problem of great importance and considerable complexity, it cannot properly be considered in passing. For this reason, I will only deal with it in outline, insofar as it cannot be passed over in the attempts to reveal and elucidate the reasons that have led to restructuring in its current conception, and in order to point out the road toward successfully completing this restructuring. I will merely deal briefly with the issue of ownership of the means of production, which in modern economic theory is identified with and defined as production relations. At first sight, this purely theoretical premise is correspondingly reflected in the practical solutions to the problems of managing the economy. If one considers things logically, it is not difficult to comprehend that ownership is what gives rise to the relevant production relations or, speaking in philosophical terms, ownership is the cause, while production relations are the effect. The same is also true from the historical aspect.

Furthermore, in my view ownership has been wrongly regarded as something unconditional and absolute, and the extreme was reached in the interpretation of the term "public property." In some cases it was regarded as something belonging to society as a whole, while in others it was identified with the state. In order to elucidate the questions surrounding ownership, we must therefore remind ourselves of the definitions of the state and society, in order to shed light on the issue of the correlation between the latter, how far they overlap one another and how far they differ. The inaccuracies in interpreting the concept of ownership and, accordingly, ownership of the means of production led to extremes of centralism in managing the economy and to a violation of the basic principle of managing the base upon which the management of the economic system must be constructed. The state, or more precisely its central administrative-governmental apparatus, assumed the main functions of management: production planning, price-setting, product marketing, distribution of benefits, and so on. **This in turn naturally led to a swelling of the administrative-governmental apparatus at all levels. I say naturally, because information is needed in order to make management decisions on the above problems, and this had to be gathered by someone, then processed and presented to the management organs for the appropriate decisions to be adopted.** Bearing in mind the criteria that were used to assess the work of the cadres, and the fact that they were appointed and not elected by the collectives, this information was often distorted. In addition, it was not complete enough, for the simple reason that some kinds of information still cannot be expressed in terms of quantities. Under these circumstances, the central organs sometimes adopted decisions that were not quite adequate for the real situation. This was also one of the reasons why a considerable number of these decisions produced no effects.

Wage payments were made according to norms, tariffs, and scales that, so to speak, caused subjectivism, inaccuracies, and in some cases even incompetence to accumulate; in other words, the link between labor and wages was made so indistinct that the principle of payment according to labor was in fact forgotten. All this can be explained by the unnatural position in which the direct producers of wealth were placed. They were left only with obligations, without any rights regarding the management of their activities, but also of course with no responsibilities. Those actually employed in agriculture (both workers and leaders) performed the roles of hired hands.

The party, making use of its constitutional right with regard to its leading role in managing society, created its own apparatus, which largely duplicated the state apparatus, in order to ensure control and neutralize the weaknesses in managing the economy.

This party apparatus, to put it crudely, appropriated some of the rights of the state apparatus, including cadre policy, and thus automatically relieved the state of its responsibilities. In practice, it turned out that, instead of providing the necessary control and responsibility in management, this led to an increase in irresponsibility. **The results of all this were alienation from the means of production and from authority, lack of interest, passivity, and all the painfully familiar negative consequences that have been repeatedly established by the highest party and state organs.**

Given the importance of the problem of ownership as emphasized above, one may justifiably ask oneself why the social sciences were unable, over a period not of years, but of several decades, to completely elucidate this problem. The explanation for this may and should be sought not in the impotence of the social sciences, but in the conditions in which they were placed as regards their development. **This prompts the conclusion that these sciences should be restructured as soon as possible, since the work of those engaged in this branch of science, work**

organized by the party, is crucial for the successful completion of restructuring not only in agriculture, but also in all spheres of material production, the intellectual sphere, and society as a whole.

The wider scope of what has been said so far, notwithstanding the fact that this article is on the subject of agriculture, may be explained by the fact that the disease, if one may so describe it, is a general one, so that one should also seek common features, to some extent or another, in the methods and means for curing it. With regard to agriculture in particular, all the failures in the past 10 years or so have been and continue to be ascribed to the agro-industrial complexes. It is pointed out that the chief shortcoming of this form of organization is their unmanageability, resulting from their great size. This is why some of our former active agriculturists began to recommend a return to the labor cooperative farms as the only possible way of rescuing agriculture from its difficult situation. Of all the arguments in support of this, they give prominence to the one that the labor cooperative farms were small in size and easily manageable. This argument deserves attention, but only if the issue only concerns day-to-day management, which is not the same thing as management in the full sense of the word.

The symptoms of the disease from which our agriculture is suffering do not date from the formation of the agro-industrial complexes.

They were felt as far back as the time of the combined labor collective farms, which were formed for the primary purpose of more fully observing the principle of paying the workers according to their labor not only under different natural conditions, but also in different branches. I see nothing bad in this at least, because it leads to more justice and more socialism.

The failures in our agriculture arose not from the agro-industrial complexes as a form of organizing production, nor from their great size, but from the fact that in almost every form of organization a rise occurred in the degree of public ownership of the means of production, with a corresponding increase in the degree of centralism in management.

The attempts of recent years to re-establish the concept of the enterprise, so long forgotten in the theory and practice of our agricultural development, were unsuccessful. This was naturally to be expected, because these attempts were made while retaining the highly centralized form of management. Under such circumstances, the enterprise appeared in practice merely in the literal sense of the concept. It is well-known from economic theory that, apart from having a literary meaning, this concept also possesses an economic meaning, one that presupposes a degree of interest, an entrepreneurial spirit, a sense of responsibility, and all the other attributes of an economic enterprise that are determined by the relevant form of management and degree of ownership. This is what our agriculture needs in order to escape from the whirlpool in which it is being sucked down, and to take the road of prosperity.

Recently, some of our scientists have been attempting to ascribe the difficulties in our development along the road of socialism to public ownership. In my view, in seeking the reasons for our failures we should direct our attention toward ownership to the extent necessary to introduce clarity into this issue, as I have already stressed. Our efforts should be primarily directed toward democratizing management, in both the political and economic spheres. This is also the way toward re-establishing the agricultural enterprise. In practice this means giving up spheres of influence, established positions, or, more precisely, power. There is a well-known folk saying that power does not fall into one's hands, but must be won. In my opinion, this sentiment is valid for countries with a low standard of civilization, but it loses its meaning in civilized societies. Furthermore, the stability of power is guaranteed not by its all-embracing nature (by encompassing more objects of management), but by the competence of the management. I presume it is not necessary for us to convince ourselves that the kind of management that is competent and efficient is the one that utilizes more gray matter, more energy and creativity, and this means nothing else than democracy in practice and democracy in action. This is the formula for success.

Leaders Attend Plovdiv Autumn Fair Opening

AU2709132089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Sep 89 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] Plovdiv, 25 September (special correspondent Grigor Lilov and oblast correspondent Stefan Severin)—In a festive, but businesslike atmosphere, Comrade Todor Zhivkov wished the Bulgarian and foreign companies and exhibitors success and cut the tricolor tape of the 45th International Technical Fair in Plovdiv. This marked the start of business at this authoritative international event. [passage omitted]

Thousands of people gathered for the opening ceremony in front of Pavilion No. 7. Citizens of Plovdiv and visitors, representatives of the diplomatic corps, economic personalities, and businessmen warmly greeted Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and chairman of the State Council. Also present were Comrades Georgi Atanasov, Grisha Filipov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Yordan Yotov, Petur Tanchev, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Grigor Stoichkov, Petko Danchev, and Stoyan Ovcharov; Pantaley Pachov, first secretary of Plovdiv Oblast BCP Committee; Stoyanka Krustenova, chairman of the Executive Committee of Plovdiv Oblast People's Council; and Kiril Tsochev, chairman of the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, made a speech at the opening of the fair. [passage omitted]

Once again, the participation of the Soviet Union stands out. In the Soviet pavilion 256 foreign trade associations and organizations are represented, some of which are taking part in the fair for the first time. Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the officials accompanying him were welcomed by Viktor Sharapov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Soviet Union, trade representative Valentin Dyakov, and Valeriy Shatilov, director of the pavilion. This year the fraternal country is exhibiting an extended list of products, prominent among which are examples of the products of joint enterprises and direct production links. After touring the exhibits, Comrade Todor Zhivkov wrote the following in the visitors' book:

"It gave me great pleasure to acquaint myself with the Soviet exposition at the 45th International Technical Fair.

"This exposition provides proof of the profound changes that are being carried out in all spheres of social life under the conditions of restructuring.

"The economic mechanism is undergoing radical renewal, and conditions are being created under which socialist integration is receiving new stimuli and scope for action.

"The metal-working machines, unique medical equipment, and flexible production modules exhibited, as well as the diverse products of the joint Bulgarian-Soviet enterprises, illustrate once again the possibilities of modern production and technical cooperation between our two countries.

"I warmly congratulate the exhibitors from Kuybyshev Oblast on what they have achieved in the field of the economy and science.

"I wish the organizers of the exposition and all of the Soviet people good health, happiness, and success in the construction of socialism." [passage omitted]

Zhivkov, Leaders Attend Young Pioneers Concert

AU2309193289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] The culmination of today's celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the foundation of the Dimitrov Young Pioneers organization was a festive concert show that took place in the Great Hall of the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia, with the participation of young prize winners in our international competitions and representatives of children's performing groups.

The Young Pioneer members and their instructors very warmly and cordially greeted Comrade Todor Zhivkov. Also present were Comrades Dimitur Stoyanov, Ivan Panev, Yordan Yotov, and Nacho Papazov, as well as Evgeni Uzunov, first secretary of the Dimitrov Komosomol.

The children presented red kerchiefs to the party and state leaders and other members of the party leadership.

Functions of Land Settlement Commissions Viewed

AU2709004289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Sep 89 p 4

[Commentary by Nikolay Nikolov, chief secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry: "Let the Land Find Its Own Masters"]

[Text] State Council Decree No. 922 on the Use of the Land and Implementing Agricultural Activity provides for the setting up of a central land settlement commission and municipal land settlement commissions. We invited Nikolay Nikolov, chief secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, to comment on these commissions' functions and immediate tasks.

The activity of the land settlement commissions is closely associated with the development of all forms of management and with the setting up of the new organizational and economic structures in agriculture. The aim of the commissions' work is to ensure that the land finds its own masters, who will use it in the most effective and ecologically friendly manner. Workers, employees, students in their free time, pensioners according to their capabilities, and others may also farm land, in addition to those directly engaged in agriculture.

The land settlement commissions determine the land for large-scale intensive agricultural use that will be managed by the collective agricultural farms, and also define the boundaries and extent of the land and the conditions for its management by individual agricultural farms, individual citizens, and citizens' companies.

It is necessary to hand over land for cultivation to cooperatives, enterprises, institutions, schools, and other bodies, utilizing varied forms of management in relation to the specific conditions, such as piecework, leasehold, ancillary farms, agricultural workshops, and so on.

Concrete assistance should be provided to the collective agricultural farms in organizing private farming. Members of the collective agricultural farms, pensioners living in the country, workers in organizations that perform services for agriculture, teachers, doctors, storekeepers, and others serving the rural population have the right to be granted land for private use of up to 5, 8, or 15 decares according to the region, or even greater amounts, at the decision of the general meeting.

The ultimate task of the land settlement commissions is to allocate all the farmland between the land users so that agricultural products are produced from every decare.

In order to provide conditions for intensive farming through leasehold land management, individual agricultural farms, private farms, and other forms, it is necessary to find the right solution to the problem of supplying them with agricultural equipment, seeds, planting material, fertilizers, chemicals and pesticides, and transport and repair services. Varied forms of organization may also be applied here, such as setting up specialized units

and associated companies and forming associations between the leaseholders themselves.

The greatest problems undoubtedly exist in relation to the management of abandoned, poorly productive, or steeply sloping land, small plots, and other land that is not being fully utilized or has been deserted. In these cases it is appropriate to increase the economic incentives and means of exerting influence, such as exemption from taxes on rental and lease payments, freedom from having state orders imposed, and the right for the agricultural farms themselves to determine the structure of production and to market their products without restrictions and at freely negotiated prices.

The application of a great variety of forms in land management requires a specific approach for each region and for each individual case. For this reason, Decree No. 922 on the Use of the Land and Implementing Agricultural Activity asserts the democratic principle and public control in handing over land to households. An enquiry is being conducted among the population concerning the available farmland and the sizes of the plots that can be handed over to individual agricultural farms. In cases where not enough land is available for the settlement of all the households that apply, the land is allocated through a competition for assuming commitments to supply the municipality with certain agricultural products, or by public auction.

The task now is to complete the land settlement within a short time scale, in order to create conditions for preparing the plots and for the new farming year.

Editor on 'Positive' Reaction to Bush Speech

LD2609213689 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Editor Oldrich Vejvoda, who has just returned from the United States, will answer our question. [passage omitted on UN General Assembly agenda]

How can yesterday's speech of President Bush be compared to the speech of Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze regarding dealing with the current main international issues?

[Vejvoda] The U.S. representative's speech was very different from the speeches delivered at previous UN General Assembly sessions. Today there is an effort to find new constructive approaches and mutual understanding and of utmost importance is to look for a dialogue. Regarding the reaction to Bush's speech in New York, it was equally positive as to the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs.

I think it is important that the preparation for the conclusion of an important treaty on 50-percent reduction of strategic [word indistinct] weapons has advanced. Obstacles have been removed as compromises have been reached; we could say this is a very significant change. [passage omitted]

Jakes Receives Soviet Ambassador 26 Sep

LD2609231289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] During the Radio Newsreel broadcast we have received the following report of CTK: Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, received in Prague today Viktor Lomakin, ambassador of the USSR in Czechoslovakia. The interview concerned questions of development of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation. Viktor Lomakin briefed him on the recent session of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

Deputy Premier Obzina Ends USSR Visit

AU2609233189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Sep 89 p 5

[Text] Moscow (CTK Correspondent)—CSSR Deputy Premier Jaromir Obzina concluded his working visit to the Soviet Union and left Moscow for Prague yesterday [22 September]. He discussed the course of the coordination of the CSSR and the USSR 1991-95 state plans with Vladilen Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. During their talks they also paid particular attention to the fulfillment of mutual deliveries of goods this year and the preparation of a protocol on trade exchange and payments between the two countries for ther coming year. The two sides also assessed the further directions for perfecting the economic mechanism of mutual cooperation.

GDR Refugee Situation Continues in Prague

Rumors on Obstruction 'Nonsense'

AU2509134589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Sep 89 p 2

[Interview with Major General Anton Nemec, commander of the Main Directorate of the Border Guard and Protection of State Borders, by a CTK reporter: "On the Protection of the CSSR State Borders"—date and place not given]

[Text] Prague—Recently, the Western mass media have unleashed a slanderous campaign against the Czechoslovak border organs in connection with journeys made by GDR nationals to Hungary. Major General Anton Nemec, PhD, commander of the Main Directorate of the Border Guard and Protection of State Borders, spoke about this in an interview with a CTK reporter.

[CTK reporter] How is the protection of state borders in the CSSR legally regulated, particularly, in relation to the current expansion of tourist traffic?

[Nemec] The protection of the CSSR state borders is regulated by the Law on the Protection of State Borders No.69/51, as set forth in later procedural regulations which had been issued in the interest of guaranteeing the increased volume of traffic on state borders, especially after 1963. Since 1 January 1989, foreigners traveling to the CSSR to date have been issued with entry visas at the Rozvadov, Dolni Dvoriste, Hate, and Petrzalka border crossings. With a view to accelerating border traffic, at border crossings with neighboring socialist states, joint controls which involve the unilateral clearance of travelers are implemented by passport and customs organs.

[CTK reporter] During border checks, what kind of documentation is required from socialist states' nationals for transit through the CSSR?

[Nemec] From the point of view of passport control carried out by Czechoslovak border organs, travelers from the neighboring socialist states must have a valid travel document which entitles them to enter CSSR territory. As far as transit through CSSR territory to the FRG or Austria is concerned, travelers must have the appropriate visa if this does not involve visa-free contact (Poland with Austria).

In the case of transit to a neighboring socialist state, the Czechoslovak border organs respect the appropriate interstate agreements. For example, for travel to Hungary, GDR nationals must have a document issued to them by the relevant GDR organs authorizing entry into Hungary. Without this document they cannot travel from the CSSR to Hungary.

[CTK reporter] The Western mass media is attacking the CSSR in articles which contain the graphic headlines that our country is preventing GDR nationals from travelling to Hungary.

[Nemec] The claim made by the Western mass media that Czechoslovak border organs are preventing GDR nationals from travelling to Hungary is not founded on the truth. Considerable care is taken in adhering to the appropriate legal norms while dealing with GDR tourists, just as with all other travelers. Those persons who do not have valid travel documents are not allowed to leave the CSSR. Despite this, if they attempt to cross the border, legal measures are taken against them.

[CTK reporter] Allegedly, even those citizens who have legal travel documents are being returned from the Czechoslovak-Hungarian border to the GDR. For example, on 20 September 1989 the Reuters news agency, with reference to FRG television, claimed that "Czechoslovak sentries on the border with Hungary began to confiscate the passports and car keys belonging to East Germans whom they supposed to be heading for the West."

[Nemec] The claim that Czechoslovak border organs are confiscating passports and car keys from GDR nationals is absolute nonsense. GDR nationals who have violated the stipulated norms are dealt with in accordance with the treaty concluded between the CSSR and the GDR in 1956 on legal contact in civil, family, and criminal matters, as set forth in the protocol that was signed in Berlin on 10 December 1975.

[CTK reporter] Have any measures been adopted and, if so, what kind in relation to the protection of Czechoslovak state borders?

[Nemec] In 1989 no measures have been adopted which involve tightening up the clearance procedure for travelers at border crossings.

On the contrary, in order to promote tourism, the border zone on the state borders with the FRG and Austria has been reduced with effect from 1 August 1989, a matter about which the Czechoslovak public has been informed in detail through the mass media.

GDR Lawyer Talks With Refugees

LD2609115989 Hamburg DPA in German 1121 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Prague (DPA)—East Berlin lawyer Wolfgang Vogel arrived at the FRG Embassy in Prague again at noon on Tuesday [26 September] to talk to the 1,000 or so GDR refugees there. One hour before Vogel, Bonn State Secretaries Juergen Sudhoff and Walter Priesnitz, and the head of Bonn's Permanent Mission in East Berlin, Franz Bertele, arrived in Prague.

A week ago Vogel had prevailed upon some 310 refugees to return to the GDR. In the meantime the number of refugees has gone up to about 1,000. Among them are many children and babies.

Guarantees Emigration After Return

LD2609141189 Hamburg DPA in German 1347 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Prague (DPA)—The East Berlin lawyer, Wolfgang Vogel, on Tuesday gave the around 1,100 GDR refugees in the FRG Embassy in Prague the guarantee of emigration to the West if they accept his offer and return initially to the GDR. This was stated by the representatives of the refugees with whom Vogel spoke. It is assumed that about one-quarter of the refugees will accept the offer.

Vogel was interpreted by them in different ways, however. Some spokesmen said that the guarantee would become valid after a 6-month stay in the GDR; others said he had guaranteed emigration within 6 months.

A second round of talks with Vogel was scheduled for 1500. [passage omitted] The first people wishing to emigrate thereupon left the Embassy grounds early on Tuesday evening—five buses were standing by to transport them away. [passage omitted] It was said in Bonn government circles that the interpretation by several refugees that the guarantee would only be valid after a 6-month stay in the GDR is not correct. The solution also applies to problem cases. [passage omitted]

Around 200 GDR Refugees Leave

LD2609214989 Hamburg DPA in German 2023 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Bonn/Prague/Warsaw (DPA)— Only about 200 of a total of over 1,100 GDR refugees left the FRG's embassy in Prague on Tuesday evening to return to the GDR. This was stated by Rudolf Seiters, minister in the Chancellor's Office, in Bonn. About 900 people wanted to remain in the embassy. [passage omitted]

Situation Seen as German Issue

LD2709113589 Prague in Slovak to Europe 2230 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] According to Western sources about 1,000 GDR citizens are staying at the FRG Embassy in Prague, hoping in this way to get a permit to emigrate to the FRG without a permit from the homeland's authority.

While responsible sources in the FRG tolerate this situation, the FRG press has started a campaign blaming the CSSR for inflexibility. The Western mass media say that no progress on this issue was achieved even after the meeting between the FRG and CSSR foreign ministers at the UN General Assembly in New York. This is hardly surprising. The CSSR proceeds from the fact that it is not in its interest to violate valid agreements with the GDR and that the question of refugees is a matter for discussion between the two German states. To draw other, third countries into it only increases the problem. Prague also resolutely proceed from the fact that the FRG Embassy should not be a gate for the illegal exit of GDR

citizens to the West but that it should, above all, serve to develop cooperation between the FRG and the CSSR.

GDR Citizen Beaten by Policemen

AU2709093189 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0600 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] After the latest offer by the East Berlin government, approximately 200 GDR citizens left the FRG Embassy in Prague. Emigration to the West within 6 months after their return to the GDR was guaranteed to them. As many as 900 GDR citizens are still in the building and the park of the FRG Embassy. One East German was attacked and beaten up in front of the embassy. According to eye-witnesses, the perpetrators were three uniformed CSSR policemen.

Refugee Number in Embassy Rises

LD2709100789 Prague CTK in English 0734 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 27 (CTK)—The number of GDR citizens in the Prague West German Embassy has again increased in the past few days. According to West German information their number exceeded 1,100 Tuesday [26 September] morning, today's RUDE PRAVO wrote.

The ensurance of food supplies and accommodation of these people is ever more difficult, the daily stressed.

GDR Lawyer Wolfgang Vogel, state secretaries from Bonn Jurgen Sudhoff and Walter Priesnitz and head of the permanent representation of West Germany in Berlin Franz Bertele arrived in the Prague West German Embassy on Tuesday. A week ago Wolfgang Vogel convinced 310 GDR citizens to return home.

RUDE PRAVO wrote that in this connection the irresponsible attitude of some West German mass media is becoming ever more expressive. They continue their campaign full of emotions aimed at supporting the emigration of the GDR citizens. The Czechoslovak side has several times stressed that the stay of the GDR citizens in the FRG Embassy in Prague prevents the diplomatic mission from working normally. This situation can be solved only on the basis of bilateral discussions between the GDR and West Germany. It is an unprecedented phenomenon in the relations between two sovereign states that the GDR citizens are being given FRG passports by the West German Embassy, RUDE PRAVO stressed.

Jakes Receives SED's Schabowski 21 Sep

AU2609235989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Sep 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Reception By M. Jakes"]

[Text] Prague—On Thursday [21 September] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, in the presence of Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, received Guenther Schabowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and first secretary of the Berlin SED Bezirk leadership, who was in Prague for a short working visit.

M. Jakes acquainted his guest with CPCZ activity during the current preparation period for its 18th congress, a period when attention is being concentrated on activating the whole party and all communists while implementing restructuring, introducing economic reforms, and carrying out the democratization of political and social life. He stressed that the aim of these changes is to increase the dynamism and efficiency of development and to enhance socialism.

He appraised the level of cooperation between the CPCZ and the SED and between the CSSR and the GDR. He expressed his support for operative and working contacts at all levels. An example of this is the very visit being carried out by the SED delegation at the invitation of the Prague CPCZ City Committee.

G. Schabowski briefed his hosts on the present situation in the GDR and on the results of the country's economic development. He positively evaluated cooperation between the Berlin and Prague party organizations, as well as the discussions under way on all issues of their activity. He also spoke about the current hostile campaign being waged against the GDR, a campaign led by the West with the intention of discrediting, on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic, the results achieved by the country in its construction.

Helmut Ziebart, GDR ambassador to the CSSR, was present during the talks which took place in a cordial and comradely atmosphere.

On the same day, Comrade M. Stepan also received the guest from the GDR.

Further on Jakes-Rakowski Prague Talks

AU2709132289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Sep 89 p 1

["CTK, Dalibor Macha"-signed report: "The Inspiring Role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Polish United Workers Party in Czechoslovak-Polish Relations; Mieczyslaw Rakowski's Cordial Reception in Prague"]

[Text] On Monday [25 September] Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee, carried out a friendly working visit to the CSSR at the invitation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee. In its course he conducted talks with Milos

Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; was received by Gustav Husak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR president; and met with Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR premier.

During their cordial and comradely meeting, the leading representatives of the two fraternal parties exchanged information about the main tasks confronting communists in the two countries and about the economic and political situation in the CSSR and the Polish People's Republic. They also considered questions concerning the development of cooperation between the two parties in the present period and exchanged views on topical foreign political problems.

M. Jakes familiarized M. Rakowski with the activity of the CPCZ in the period of preparations for its 18th congress and with the party's policy aimed at the implementation of economic reform and at the development of democracy in the life of the entire society. He stressed that the aim of the policy of restructuring, which leads to safeguarding economic growth, further democratically developing the political system, activating the National Front, enhancing the legal powers of national committees, and securing rights and freedoms for all citizens, is to strengthen socialism and to raise it to a qualitatively new level. In all these processes the CPCZ plays the role of the political vanguard of the workers class and the people. The drafts of congress documents have been submitted for public discussion. The aim of the period prior to the congress is the activation of the party and all its members and the reinforcement of the party's bonds with citizens. He also provided information on the problems which the party encounters in asserting the tasks of restructuring and on its approaches to their solution.

M. Rakowski provided information on the present situation in the PZPR in the conditions that have arisen after this June's elections. He pointed out the party's loyalty to the principles of socialism and spoke about the steps it is taking in the interest of economic and political reforms in Poland.

During its preparations for the 11th congress, the PZPR is carrying out an analysis of its situation. It works toward profound transformations and seeks to concentrate in its ranks active representatives of the left wing and to regain the trust of the broad masses.

The two representatives emphasized the importance which their parties ascribe to the development of the traditionally close cooperation between our neighboring states and peoples in all areas. These relations, which benefit the Czechoslovak and Polish people, are among the lasting values and both parties attribute extraordinary importance to their further development and enrichment on the basis of respect for the adopted agreements and their implementation. As in the past, the CPCZ and the PZPR intend to take the initiative and play an inspiring role in relations between the CSSR and the Polish People's Republic, with a view to strengthening mutual Czechoslovak-Polish relations and making use of all positive experiences and results.

M. Jakes and M. Rakowski examined questions of cooperation between the two fraternal parties. They underlined the importance of the traditionally close comradely relations, which will continue to intensify and develop. Full respect for the heterogeneous conditions and needs of each party does not lead to the weakening of mutual solidarity and wide-ranging contacts at various levels but, quite the reverse, calls forth the need for a broader and more effective exchange of knowledge and experiences. The two leading representatives considered suggestions for the development of mutual contacts and specific measures for their materialization. They emphasized the importance of ties of friendship between regional and voivodship party organizations and of the conclusion of an agreement on cooperation in the ideological sphere.

While examining foreign policy issues, they emphasized, in particular, the need for coordination among socialist countries in all fields. They endorsed the peace efforts of the USSR and other socialist countries aimed at ensuring peace in the world, at progress in nuclear and conventional disarmament, and at enforcing new approaches in international relations. They resolutely rejected attempts of forces which try to interfere in the internal affairs of socialist countries and have not given up the idea of changing the postwar settlement in Europe.

The friendly working visit took place in a constructive, frank, and comradely atmosphere.

Concern Over Hungarian Reforms Expressed

AU2609113189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Sep 89 p 4

[Vojtech Vesely article: "No Other Opinion Is Wanted; A Discussion On Democracy and Pluralism in Present-Day Hungary"]

[Text] "All those who do not denounce the past four decades, socialism, and the party, but who appraise them in a matter-of-fact manner and who, apart from the mistakes, point out further opportunities, either meet with rejection or their opinions are misrepresented and belittled."

Gyozo Szerenyi, the Budapest philosopher and writer, wrote this in a letter addressed to Imre Poszgay, with whom he had studied at university in the 1950's. In an affable and friendly manner he expressed his fears about contemporary Hungarian developments and his critical reservations about its political line. From Poszgay he received only a formal reply a few lines long.... Then he gradually turned to the editorial offices of nine daily newspapers and journals. He received evasive responses, with various justifications, from all of them. The same

thing happened with approximately 30 other contributions and, as he writes, he is not the only one to have experienced this. Thus he reached the delicate position and conclusion that he must turn to newspapers abroad.

The Author and His Letter

He arrived at the agreed place on time. A slim 58-year-old man with an unassuming manner and a quiet voice presented himself to me. He said that he comes from Szabolcs-Szatmar County, which is a poor region of Hungary. In his childhood he worked as a shepherd and in his youth he worked as an ancillary worker in a Budapest tannery. He had not even come of age when he joined the Communist Party, or to put it more precisely, when he was registered in it. At that time, shortly after liberation, this used to be done.... He became an organizer of the youth movement and applied himself to studying philosophy at university, a course which he completed in 1958. Now he is a university lecturer and, besides this, for a number of years he has been publishing essays and studies on music, upbringing, and education; but he has not avoided burning ideopolitical issues.

His letter is captivating contemplation, a form of thinking out lo and a wise and level-headed commentary on the phenomena that are now reverberating so strongly among people. It is also a courageous letter because, with his opinions, the author is swimming against the fashionable tide in Hungary and does not heed the ups and downs associated with this.

"Today it is impossible to talk about and acknowledge anything other than the fact that in our country, in Hungary, we spread Marxism by fire and iron and that, under the party's leadership, we perpetrated only shameful deeds. I have the courage to deny this. The opposite is the truth. Those who did most to discredit socialist democracy those who today denounce it most volubly. It is possible to demonstrate how they tripped us up, how they multiplied our problems, first and foremost, those people who are now trumpeting to the world our mistakes, shortcomings, and, in individual cases, also our sins and who, at the same time, relish sniggering at us."

He devotes profound attention to freedom and democracy, that is, to those concepts that are also frequently spoken about in Hungary's political life today. Only this often merely serves as a cover concealing the real intentions. According to him, "the progressive writer, Ferenc Mora, characterizes democracy and freedom in the most human manner. He wrote in 1918 that it is the freedom to do anything that benefits not only the few but the many, anything that is not a privilege but a asset that decreases unhappiness and multiplies joy in this world.... Only when we place our deeds on the scales with clean hands and intentions, deeds and intentions not calculated by merchants, can we consider what we have done for such a democracy, or against it, since our liberation."

Directly and Openly

He ponders the essence of socialism, which he sees in its transitory nature, and the fact that it is a process and not a culmination or a perfect state. "He who is a real supporter of Marxism-Leninism, who does not pretend to understand but who really does understand its essence, never loses sight of what is already socialist in this process or of what is not yet socialist. Here it is possible to designate only the essence and direction of the changes because everything else has two or many aspects."

He addresses himself directly and frankly to the addressee of his open letter. "Imre Poszgay's acts and statements are like a magic wand with which it is possible to effect only the most perfect delight. The extremists also utilize him against the party's ideas and Marxism. Their goal is to devalue socialism's values and its supporters as well as to destroy the party. They are not for the party but against it, even though they may speak in its name. They are not for socialism but against it, even though they may use the slogans of a reformed socialism."

He recalls the recent past of this representative of reformist forces in the party, his activity in the posts which he held. He admonishes him for not having strengthened but almost weakened the People's Patriotic Front, for having helped to bring about the dissolution of the youth union, and for not having contributed in the party itself to solving problems but to multiplying and increasing them.

As is well known, Imre Poszgay has been put forward as the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party's candidate for the post of president, a post which, however, has not yet been endorsed. In this connection, Szerenyi writes to him that when the commission which "he created in his own image just as we, people, create gods in our own image," adopted this decision it broke internal party democracy because it did not even ask party members for their opinion. It has been written that the proposal issued from the will of the people. "I do not know about any kind of popular initiative, I was not invited to the assembly where they proposed you; on the contrary, I do know about comments which bear out opposition and protest, including my own. Only, nothing is said about them...."

Here Gyozo Szerenyi turns to the Hungarian mass media. "A year has gone by since the supporters of a bourgeois order were able to freely announce on radio, television, and in the press that the way forward was clear and that what could not be achieved in 1956 with weapons can now be achieved with trickery."

So much in his letter, figuratively speaking, has remained "walled in," although in every forum in Hungary now there resonates condemnation of the former "lack of freedom of views" and praise is echoed for today's freedoms. What about appearing on the party podium? A party member has the right....

"He has, but in our primary organizations there has not been a meeting for about a year. I have the right to appeal to higher organs right up to the Central Committee. I have already mentioned what kind of response I received from I. Poszgay."

For An Honest Debate

We talked about the pluralism of views which, in my opinion, is natural in the present stage in which we are seeking solutions for Hungarian problems. Today, the negation of everything from the past still prevails but, obviously, the "pendulum will be swung back" to its middle course and harmony will be achieved in all matters, surely?

"Yes, I have already heard that from a physicist. If only it were so. However, only an honest and correct debate will lead to this. Let those who hatefully reject this regime, because they were better off at one time, come forward with their views and, on the other hand, let those who were and are committed supporters of socialism also come forward. These people will not only praise it because they also see its shortcomings and they see what it is necessary to do differently. In a word, I am concerned about a real pluralism of views."

However, as he added, it is impossible to speak about such a myriad of views in the Hungarian media. His own experience is not unique, he knows about left wing groups and organizations which are unable to get their views across—they are simply silenced. No other opinion, as the opposition says, is wanted.

"There is no equality of opportunity. Radio and television do not talk about anything except what the opposition talks about. Is that pluralism? Let there be an honest debate and may the best idea win. However, the opposition is striving for something else—to push others off the scene. Recently, one of the FIDESZ [Alliance of Young Democrats] organization's representatives announced that it is necessary to crush the communists into the mud. In other words, none of the criticized past mistakes has been overcome—until now, as they claim, they were unable to express their views, and now they are not allowing others to do so."

Finally, I asked G. Szerenyi whether he realized that after publication of this article in Czechoslovakia an avalanche of attacks and denunciations will descend upon him? After a moment of somber consideration, he replied.

"I have envisaged this. But we can show that I tried to gain publicity here, at home, and that I have honorable intentions. Unfortunately, I tried in vain. Therefore, I turned to the foreign press. I did not have this opportunity at home. Anyone may debate with me, but let him proceed correctly."

It was an unusual meeting, at which I felt that a reporter from a neighboring country is not the most competent person to convey the reservations of one philosophical Hungarian citizen about what is happening in his homeland. Instead of me, one of my local colleagues should talk with him, listen, and shout to the world his fears and courage, defiance and criticism, as well as his wisdom and humanity. However, in nine editorial offices he could not find one. Because Gyozo Szerenyi is a communist and defends socialism, his opinions are not wanted.

CPCZ Delegation Leaves for Varna Meeting

LD2509193989 Prague CTK in English 1826 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 25 (CTK)—A Czechoslovak Communist Party delegation headed by Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Lenart left for Varna today to attend a meeting of secretaries for international issues of the socialist countries' communist and workers' parties.

Participants in the meeting will discuss topical issues connected with the present international situation, the further development of socialist and cooperation between socialist countries. They are also to exchange opinions on the present development of the all- European process and its prospects.

CSSR Exit Visas To Be Abolished

AU2609152089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Sep 89 p 2

[Igor Sirota report: "We Will Travel More"]

[Text] Prague (From our own correspondent)—In 1995 a considerably larger number of our citizens should be able to travel to capitalist countries than at present and, during 1990, conditions should be established for abolishing exit visas and replacing them by a simple statistical sheet, said Josef Pancir, CSSR deputy minister of foreign trade, at a news conference held after a Federal Government meeting. The realization of the proposal for the comprehensive development of Czechoslovak tourism up to the year 2000, which was approved by the government on Thursday [21 September] should result in this, among other things.

The foreign currency resources necessary for our citizens' journeys to capitalist countries will be acquired from the income generated by tourism in our country. For example, this year the proceeds from tourism should reach $180 million. From next year, these resources will be fully put back into tourism. On the one hand, they will be put into the central foreign currency account, the greater part of which will defray foreign currency allocations for our citizens' journeys to nonsocialist countries. On the other hand, part of the generated foreign currency resources will be left to the travel agencies and the substantial part of these resources will again be used to organize trips abroad. The final foreign currency allotment will be allocated to the national committees in

Prague and in other tourist centers, in order to improve the quality of accommodation and other services for foreign tourists.

As J. Pancir said, the CSSR Government has also decided to further expand the issuing of visas at our borders to tourists from capitalist countries, and to speed up construction of the Prague-Rozvadov freeway and improve border crossings.

At the same time, our citizens' journeys to Western countries will be simplified. During 1990, prerequisites should be established for abolishing exit visas and replacing them by statistical sheets, which will be considerably simpler. This situation should come about gradually, after the necessary computer technology has been installed, which will enable a citizen, after submitting the statistical sheet, to acquire an exit permit right at the border.

During the first stage, when visas will be replaced by statistical sheets, a substantial simplification will already be achieved because only one visit to the passport and visas department will be necessary, added Vaclav Marhoul, head of the foreign tourism department at the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Trade.

Journalists at the news conference were also informed that, from January next year, depending on the amount of foreign currency resources, it will be possible to travel to Yugoslavia via Austria and to Bulgaria via Yugoslavia.

All this involves a series of further measures whose implementation is now a matter not only for the government, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, and the travel agencies, but also for a number of other organs and institutions. At the same time, all the measures approved by the government have one fundamental feature—they highlight the people's interests and needs, and place their desire to travel before economic needs.

Slovaks 'Ill-Disposed' Toward East Bloc Shoppers

AU2609153989

[Editorial report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 22 September on page 4 carries a 1,600-word article by Peter Ondera entitled "A Nimble Step on the Strained String of Supplies; How Tourism Affects Retailing in Border Areas." The article deals with the impact of purchases by tourists from socialist countries on the supply situation in Poprad district, one of the main tourist areas in Slovakia. As Ondera notes in his introductory remarks, his article was prompted by readers' letters expressing "ill will and protest" at the "tourists' onslaught" on shops in Slovakia. The PRAVDA editorial office has reportedly been receiving such letters "throughout the summer, especially from border districts in the north, south, and east of Slovakia."

Ondera interviews officials responsible for supplies in Poprad district, shop and tourism managers, as well as customs officers, inquiring whether "purchases by tourists can really jeopardize the stability of supplies." Vladimir Kucera, head of the Jednota public catering enterprise in Poprad district, one of Ondera's interview partners, concedes that the district makes its living from tourism, but adds that there is a difference between a tourist staying in a hotel and paying full board and someone "who only drives quickly through the district, buys foodstuffs in the retail trade network, picks the most attractive consumer goods, and leaves behind him empty boxes in overflowing garbage cans at roadside resting places." Kucera points out that, whereas public catering enterprises in the district are having difficulties meeting their plan, the retail trade network is exceeding its plan with ease. According to Kucera, this shows that "the number of tourists is relatively high, but that the structure is not such as would benefit us economically."

Bernard Soltes, another Jednota manager, confirms Kucera's words. He points out that, although the supply situation in the district has improved compared with 1988, "the locals are ill-disposed when they see foreigners, particularly Polish tourists, buy up large quantities of one type of merchandise or bananas, or other type of tropical fruit, the deliveries of which are modest anyhow."

Referring to the type of merchandise that foreign tourists seek, Ondera says that this year they "have shown the greatest interest in sweets and nonperishable bakery products, which are in short supply, in nuts and cocoa. Hungarians have been buying rice, and tourists from the GDR virtually everything, especially industrial merchandise. There have been high sales of footwear, jogging suits, underwear, glass, china, and Christmas decorations. The range of goods sought by foreign tourists is indeed varied," he says.

Jakes Visits, Addresses Party Journalists

AU2609115589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Sep 89 p 1

[Nada Adamickova report: "The Party Press—An Important Helper; Comrade M. Jakes Visited the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Press Enterprises"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondent)—Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, paid a working visit to the CPCZ Press Enterprises at Prague-1, Na Florenci 19, on Thursday [21 September]. He toured the new facilities completed this spring. The CPCZ Press Enterprises are a combine made up of printing plants, the editorial offices of party papers and periodicals in the Czech Socialist Republic, and the SVOBODA and PANORAMA publishing houses.

The construction and subsequent completion of the building, which houses editorial offices and production plants, started in 1982. [passage omitted] The editorial offices of RUDE PRAVO, VECERNI PRAHA, SVOBODA, and TRIBUNA are located in the building (the

editorial office of ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY will move in later), as well as a new facility of the RUDE PRAVO Printing Plants. [passage omitted]

After touring the technological part of the production of newspapers, Comrade Jakes also visited the documentation office, the photographic lab, the library, the typing pool, and the production staff of the RUDE PRAVO editorial office. [passage omitted]

The next part of the general secretary's visit was devoted to a meeting with the staff of the CPCZ Press Enterprises. At the outset of his address, he wished them much success on the occasion of Press, Radio, and Television Day. He appreciated the work carried out by the mass media in consistently upholding the policy of the CPCZ and the entire National Front. People want to be comprehensively informed today, not only about events abroad but, and primarily, about what is going on at home. What matters is the truthfulness and promptness of information; information that is able to appreciate the results we have achieved, to give readers correct guidance, but also to pinpoint problems and the possibilities of their solution. I am confident, Comrade Jakes said, that the information media will continue to galvanize the working people and all our people into action in implementing the targets of restructuring and democratization of society.

In another part of his speech, he dealt with the party's topical tasks in the period of annual members meetings and conferences and in the entire period of preparations for the congress. He emphasized the importance of the media and of the party press in particular for the success of the public discussion on the main documents of the 18th CPCZ Congress.

Comrade Jakes also replied to numerous questions. Asked about the reconstruction of the newsprint machine at Steti, which produces newsprint for RUDE PRAVO and other dailies, he said that it will be completed in 1991 and will enable a higher production of paper than until now. Provisions are also being made for the construction of a new paper manufacturing facility at Bukovec near Plzen, which should safeguard stable supplies of newsprint in the future. At the time of the reconstruction proper of the newsprint machine at Steti, newsprint will be imported from abroad.

At the close of his visit, Comrade Milos Jakes granted a short interview to the correspondents of Czechoslovak Television, Czechoslovak Radio, CTK, and RUDE PRAVO. Replying to the question of what role he ascribes to the mass media in the forthcoming period, he said:

"First of all, I would like to wish them success in their work, so that they contribute to the maximum extent possible to the process of restructuring and democratization taking the right course, so that our economy develops well, so that people's participation in the management and administration of the national economy and the state increases. Journalists have embarked on this road already. In many cases, this road entails conflicts, not everything works out well as it should, but it is the correct road."

Asked about the possibilities of journalists' closer cooperation with the leadership of the party and state and with the leadership of economic organizations, Milos Jakes said that in many cases, journalists' access to information continues to depend on the willingness to provide information, on cooperation with those who avail themselves of information. There exist quite many untapped possibilities in this regard. At the same time, there already exists a sufficient number of actual results on which we can pride ourselves. Everything now depends on how well we will be able to use these results and, with them, to influence the thinking and conduct of people so that they themselves take an even more active part in the restructuring of our society. Therein, too, lies an important role for the information media.

The general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee was accompanied by Zdenek Horeni, RUDE PRAVO chief editor; Oldrich Blazek, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department; Josef Hora, deputy head of a CPCZ Central Committee department; and Miroslav Chvojka, general director of the CPCZ Press Enterprises.

Government Session Issues Communique

AU2709120189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Sep 89 p 1

[CTK report: "The CSSR Government Held A Session"]

[Text] Prague—At its Thursday [21 September] plenary meeting the CSSR Government approved a report on the course and results of an official friendly visit made by Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, to the Romanian Socialist Republic on 5-6 September 1989. It set members of the government the task of guaranteeing the fulfillment of the agreed conclusions, especially in the sphere of production cooperation and specialization, the contractual ensurance of mutual supplies, the coordination of national economic plans for the years 1991-95, and the development of scientific-technical cooperation.

The draft principles for legally amending the management of enterprise consumption, which the CSSR Government has discussed and approved, represent the overall concept of managing this sphere. This limits the possibility of refunding enterprise consumption from expenditures; preferably, it will be reimbursed from profits and, as the case may be, from the organizations' cultural and social needs fund. The Central Trade Union Council Presidium also stated its agreement with the draft principles. The Federal Ministry of Finance's draft decree with respect to the cultural and social needs fund, a decree which proceeds from the principles, will be submitted to the CSSR Government after public discussion in the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and after all the suggestions have been considered. On the basis of the principles, the government set the task of preparing further generally obligatory legal regulations.

The CSSR Government has approved a proposal for the comprehensive development of Czechoslovak tourism up to the year 2000, including the creation of conditions for socialist enterprise and the establishment of the instruments for material and foreign currency incentives. The aim of the submitted proposal is to provide Czechoslovak citizens with the greatest possible opportunities to travel abroad. This proposal envisages a considerable increase in the economic effect of active tourism, particularly in the sphere of freely exchangeable currency. At the same time, the CSSR Government adopted a whole series of foreign currency, exchange-rate, technical, transportation, passport, visa, customs, and other measures.

The draft amendment to the penal code, which the CSSR Government has debated, will first and foremost bring about a comprehensive solution for dealing with the more effective punishment of minor public offenses.

This punishment is to be moved from the courts to other organs. Thus, in future, offenses such as leaving the republic or drunkenness, which until now have been regarded as criminal offenses, will be considered as misdemeanors. Emphasis on intensifying the differentiation between punishments is expressed in the draft bill by increasing the role of punishments that are not connected with imprisonment.

A large group of proposals is intended to achieve the specific aims of the penal policy. To this group, for example, belong the proposals to tighten up sanctions against corruption, to establish independent facts in the criminal offenses of the unauthorized influencing of courts, endangering the environment, the unpermitted production and possession of drugs and psychotropic substances and poisons, the spreading of drug addiction, vandalism, the dissemination of alarming reports, abduction, and passing on AIDS or other similar dangerous diseases. In response to the CSSR Federal Assembly deputies, particular attention is paid in the proposal to further tightening the conditions for passing the death sentence.

The proposal to amend the law on minor offenses is directly linked to the amendment of the penal code and, therefore, the amendments correspond to the proposed penal code changes. Proposals to discharge some minor offenses with the proviso that in the future they will be dealt with out of court are contained in this.

The CSSR Government discussed a proposed amendment to the penal code and emphasized that its fundamental aim is to retain the procedural changes in the sphere of criminal law, changes that are a consequence of the amendment to the penal law and the law on minor offenses. This is intended to support the categorization of and differentiation between criminal responsibility. Another group of proposals is aimed at strengthening the protection of citizens' rights, and it reinforces the constitutional guarantees that they will be respected. Among these proposals, for example, belong proposals to amend detention orders, to amend time limits on the length of custody, to increase the possibilities of replacing detention by a guarantee from a social organization or by a promise from the accused, to amend the conditions of detention and its alternatives in cases involving young people, and to amend regulations involving the participation of representatives of social organizations in criminal proceedings.

The amendment to the law on imprisonment is first and foremost intended to increase the efficiency of this punishment by individualizing it and by further differentiating its execution. The draft amendment to the law on periodicals and other mass communication media proceeds from the fact that, in order to publish a periodical, it is necessary for the appropriate organ of the state administration to register it. Despite this, at present a considerable number of periodicals are being published in the CSSR without having been registered. Therefore, the draft amendment to the above-mentioned law first and foremost formulates a more precise legal prerequisite for authorizing publishing activity as a permitted activity. It also formulates legal implements for the more efficient execution of state administration in the sphere of periodicals by laying down possibilities for handing out down to organizations and citizens.

The CSSR Government entrusted its premier with submitting all the draft amendments to the laws to the CSSR Federal Assembly for further constitutional discussion.

CPCZ Presidium Session Reported

LD2209172989 Prague CTK in English 1252 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 22 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium discussed at its today's session preparations for the 15th Central Committee session. In this connection it dealt with a draft proposal of the Presidium's report to be delivered at the session by party General Secretary Milos Jakes.

The party Presidium took note of draft principles of regulating the economic development. The submitted principles include a collection of measures and instruments to be used by a unified controlling body for correction of divergent development of economics from intentions of the state plan.

The Presidium discussed a proposal for the invitation of representatives of the communist and workers' parties to the 18th party congress. In the Presidium's opinion, the congresses of fraternal parties are a good occasion for multilateral contacts, exchanging views and experience among parties and strengthening solidarity and internationalist relations.

The Presidium took note of Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes' information of the participation of a Czechoslovak delegation in the 9th nonaligned summit in Belgrade on September 4-7.

The Czechoslovak delegation attended this significant forum as a guest for the first time in the movement's history and had thus the possibility of establishing closer contacts with the movement and its members. Czechoslovakia appreciated again the Nonaligned Movement's contribution to the strengthening of peace, international security and understanding among nations, its role in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and other forms of violence.

More on Session

AU2709105089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Sep 89 p 1

["Report From A CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Session"]

[Text] Prague—At its Friday [22 September] session the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium discussed the extensive preparations for the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session. In connection with this, it considered the Presidium's draft report which Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, will deliver at the session.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium also became acquainted with the draft guidelines for controlling the development of the economy, guidelines which the State Planning Commission is preparing in accordance with a decision made by the CSSR Government, and it made note of the state of work on the draft to date. The proposed draft guidelines for controlling the development of the economy represent a set of policies and instruments which the unified managerial center should use, first and foremost, to correct the development of the economy which has deviated from the intentions of the state plan. The Presidium emphasized that in a later stage of work it will be necessary to pay exceptional attention to the accurate and clear demarcation of relations and ties between the 5-year state plan, the system of management, and the system of controlling the development of the economy and to demarcating conditions for utilizing the guidelines. At the same time, it is necessary to proceed from the fact that the necessary prerequisite for the effective operation of the guidelines for controlling the development of the economy must be an extremely well drafted 5-year state plan and a quality system of management.

It discussed a proposal to invite representatives of communist and workers parties and some progressive parties and movements to the 18th CPCZ Congress. In the Presidium's opinion, the fraternal parties' congresses provide a convenient opportunity for forging multilateral contacts, for exchanging views and experiences among the parties, and for strengthening solidarity and international ties. Approximately 150 foreign delegations will be invited to the 18th CPCZ Congress.

The Presidium made note of a report on the course and results of a working meeting involving the heads of the socioeconomic departments in the central committees of the CEMA member states' fraternal parties which took place in Prague on 12-14 September.

The meeting considered a draft of working material concerning the economic issues of the development of the international socialist division of labor and socialist integration.

The Presidium made note of a report from Jaromir Johanes, CSSR foreign minister, on the CSSR delegation's participation in the ninth non-aligned movement conference in Belgrade on 4-7 September. The Czechoslovak delegation was participating for the first time in this important meeting. The delegation had guest status. This enabled our country to conduct a closer dialogue with the non- aligned movement and its members and to become more intimately acquainted with its development trends and its overall orientation. During this occasion, Czechoslovakia once more appraised the nonaligned movement's contribution to strengthening peace, international security, and understanding among nations, to resolving crisis situations by political means, and its contribution to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism, and other forms of coercion in international relations.

Shevardnadze-Baker Talks Deemed 'Significant'

LD2609155189 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1350 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Guenter Leuschner commentary on the "Magazin am Nachmittag" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] In the not too distant past the West used to argue that nuclear disarmament would only make sense, if prior to it or simultaneously, at least, the Soviets would dismantle their superior tank forces. Conversely, there should be reason to assume then, that conventional disarmament can only bring actual disarmament, if it also covers nuclear weapons. The world would certainly fail to become a safer place with fewer tanks and more nuclear missiles instead. In order to avoid such fears, no weapons category must be left out in the talks and the negotiations under way in various places ought to proceed at an equal pace. A step-by-step approach in disarmament thus must not allow for any side involved to walk on just one leg, as it were.

However, that is exactly the impression NATO has created over the past 6 months. While advocating further progress in the Vienna negotiations and setting up a bold timetable, NATO avoided any engagement in further talks on short-range nuclear forces and did not allow any progress in the Geneva talks on chemical weapons and the cutting in half of strategic arms. Instead of submitting a similar timetable to conclude an agreement four-fifths of which were ready for signing anyway, all that American politicians kept saying until very recently was that they were in no hurry, that they could afford and were willing to take their time. That uneven pace and contradiction in U.S. disarmament policy was even less justifiable, since no one had even the slightest doubt anymore over the Warsaw pact's readiness to accept drastic cuts in conventional weapons. [passage omitted]

It is against this backdrop that the results of the U.S.-Soviet foreign ministers meeting partly came as a surprise, because they convey the impression as though, despite all the statements saying otherwise given even in the most recent past, the United States were now willing to adjust its pace in the talks on chemical weapons and strategic arms in Vienna. If that were really the case, one could be satisified. But is it a true impression? The Soviet Union has once again made the largest step to achieve further rapprochement. However, the other Wyoming accords may also prove to be significant steps toward a long-awaited agreement, although any talk of a breakthrough would certainly be premature. The fact is that the United States has invested largely to make up for its bad record of acting as a brake in two out of three disarmaments talks. Whether that will be enough to conclude three really comprehensive disarmament agreements next year, remains to be seen, however.

Drug Crimes in FRG, U.S. Blamed on Capitalism

AU2609185289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Sep 89 p 2

["W.M." editorial: "Record in Drug-Related Deaths"]

[Text] With some 600 drug-related deaths this year, the FRG has set a sad record. With 14.5 million drug consumers, a new record high has been reported from the United States. This is the reason that President Bush, in a televised speech to the nation, has described drugs as "the most serious internal threat our entire nation is facing today." As proof of this he showed his viewers a packet of "crack," which anyone can buy from dealers in front of the White House gates.

Four consecutive U.S. presidents declared war on drugs and lost, commentators in Washington noted in connection with the fifth declaration of war, and described its prospects as even bleaker. The president said he wants to spend some $7.9 billion on the war against the narcotics mafia, whose annual turnover is estimated at $110 billion. Almost three-quarters of these financial means will go towards combating crime and executing sentences. In the United States things have escalated to a degree where 6 in 10 charges against drug criminals have to be dropped because there are not enough state prosecutors, judges, and prisons. The narcotics war is not to be waged in the United States alone, but "on the seas, in the international air space, and at the borders," and primarily in South America, where there are the main areas of cultivations. For the first time Washington has offered other states to dispatch troops to fight the narcotics mafia. This is a suspicious offer, particularly since the aim of the war, namely a 10-percent reduction of drug consumption within 2 years, appears to be very modest.

The opposition criticized the administration's plan as insufficient, not tough and courageous enough. However, it does not offer a more promising solution either. And there is none, because in capitalist society illegal narcotics trade is the business that promises the highest profits; it is more profitable than the arms trade. As is known, capitalists stop at nothing as long as the profit rate is high enough. Besides, neither do policemen, judges, state prosecutors, deputies, and ministers, when they receive a share in the profits. Secretary of State Baker admitted quite frankly that "the narcotics mafia is undermining state institutions."

Nevertheless, the business does not only involve dealers, but also producers, and consumers. Capitalism provides these as well: impoverished peasants in developing countries who receive threats to their lives unless they cultivate coca, and the narcotics scene, whose members mainly come from those segments of the population that have been pushed into the social abyss—in the United States, the FRG, and wherever the capitalist law of the jungle prevails. Those who really want to win the war against "the most serious internal threat" would have to fundamentally change society—at home, and not elsewhere.

Paper Says Honecker 'Under Influence' of Drugs

AU2709103389 Hamburg BILD in German 27 Sep 89 pp 1,2

[Report by W. Kenntemich and R. Voelkel: "Honecker Under Drugs"]

[Text] GDR television demonstratively reported on the resumption of activities by Erich Honecker—who has allegedly recovered from his serious illness and gall bladder operation. However, appearances are deceptive: The truth is that the 77-year-old GDR leader is under the influence of strong medication, including psychopharmacological drugs and morphine. Honecker's appearance on GDR television reminded one of a waxwork.

Pale, thin, and moving like a puppet, he received diplomats. Behind him stood a prompter constantly whispering. Honecker aides told Western diplomats: "These are his last appearances."

Intelligence services have reported that Honecker may have been fitted with a cardiac pacemaker in order to stabilize his circulation.

Honecker is suffering from cancer of the pancreas.

No improvement or even cure can be expected.

"In addition to morphine-containing painkillers he receives medication to stabilize his circulation," a Western physician stated. "This makes him appear mask-like. He cannot appear in public longer than ½ hour or 1 hour."

FRG Media Coverage of Synod Criticized

AU2609152389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Sep 89 p 2

["W.M." editorial: "Pan-German Stale Goods at Church Meeting"]

[Text] The synodal meeting of Evangelical Churches in the GDR has taken place these days in Eisenach. What was remarkable at this church meeting was the fact that there were obviously as many Western journalists in Eisenach as there were participants in the meeting.

The explanation for this great interest of the FRG mass media could soon be found. The reports are revealing. The representatives of the FRG opinion mills were certainly not in the least interested in religious problems and church affairs. The only reason that they came to Eisenach was, of course, to continue their campaign from there, a campaign they have been leading for some time, and in which they have resorted to using the complete arsenal of the cold war against socialism in general and against the GDR, in particular. Thus, the frontal reports from the city close to the Wart Burg do not portray in the least the atmosphere of a church meeting, but rather that of pan-German staff meetings, in which, several decades ago, the "grey plans" were worked out for re-establishing capitalist conditions in the GDR.

Reports in the FRG media have shown that this old hat has been produced once again at—mind you!—a synodal meeting. Old cheese was offered as a fresh product: That which, despite their greatest efforts, the enemies of the socialist German state have not achieved in 4 decades, namely to abolish socialism and the power of the workers and peasants on German soil by means of a counterrevolution, is now to be made good with "economic reforms," with standpoints "that differ from the policy that is unanimously supported by those responsible," and with "counter structures." What the West has quoted from the report to the synodal meeting is ultimately a catalogue of measures that are designed to make the GDR capitalist and ripe for "reunification."

Of course this will come to nothing. We have not expanded our state-owned enterprises to efficient combines in order to reintroduce capitalist exploitation. Neither do we need a pluralist media policy of capitalist concerns, because we do not have to distract attention from such evils as mass unemployment, homelessness, and the narcotics trade. Our multiparty system, without neo-Nazis, is completely sufficient for shaping our socialist society. What we need are active citizens of all classes and strata of the population who actively contribute to further shaping socialism and, with everybody else, to solving the problems which we are encountering on our path. It is good that there are many believers, Christian and Jewish citizens who are lending a hand.

However, concerning the catalogue of the all too well-known stale articles, which has been published by the media in the West, everybody is bound to ask themself the question: What does this have to do with church affairs? What is more: What do such adventurous, completely unrealistic slogans still have to do with the church in socialism? Would it not be better to stick to the reasonable and useful agreements between the state and the church of 1978, which were reiterated at the recent consecration of the cathedral in Greifswald?

'Double Standards' on Refugees Appealed

LD2709110989 Hamburg DPA in German 0940 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—In an appeal directed at the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo, more than 150 members and sympathizers of the Peace and Human Rights Initiative [Initiative Frieden und Menschenrechte] from Cottbus, Rostock, and East Berlin have called for the cancellation of paragraph 213 on "illegal frontier-crossing" in the GDR criminal code. The letter, which was sent on 11 September, became known in East and West Berlin today.

The signatories argue that the government is allowing it to be "proclaimed worldwide that the GDR citizens from Hungary and other Eastern European countries

who are in the FRG diplomatic missions can come back and go unpunished." But why should this apply only to this group of people, they asked. The contradiction that some are imprisoned and others are allowed to go to the West has nothing to do with the rule of law.

The GDR Government was also called upon to suspend all sentences passed under paragraph 213, stop all current cases immediately, and release those in detention immediately. There should be no legal double standards. Former GDR citizens should be guaranteed "an unbureaucratic opportunity to return." It is high time that the government ends its rigid attitude and "practices a more humane approach, as is done in other Eastern European countries."

Modrow Arrives in Stuttgart on SPD Invite

LD2509230889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1823 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Stuttgart (ADN)—A delegation of the Dresden Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Area Organization under the leadership of its first secretary, Hans Modrow, member of the SED Central Committee, arrived in Stuttgart at the invitation of the Baden-Wuerttemberg SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] for a visit lasting several days. At a first meeting on Monday with the SPD regional chairman, Ulrich Maurer, and the parliamentary group chairman in the regional parliament, Dieter Spori, the interlocutors spoke in support of level-headednesses and balance in the relations between the FRG and the GDR. The preservation and consolidation of peace in Europe was one of the most important topics in the talk, it was stressed later.

Talks with other regional politicians, including Prime Minister Lothar Spaeth, and with communal politicians, as well as visits to scientific establishments and industrial enterprises, are on the program for the 4-day visit.

After the talk, Hans Modrow stated in response to questions from journalists that one should be clear that the two German states are irrevocably a result of the postwar period and would remain so. Whenever there have been reasonable relations, as for example the encounter btween Erich Honecker and Helmut Kohl showed, they have served the European house. It would be endangered by those who dream of a Germany in the borders of 1937.

In response to the question about reforms in the GDR, Hans Modrow recalled that since its existence the GDR has conducted a policy of reforms. One of the most important has been the education reform, by means of which the fascist demon had been banished from the schools. Here and in other areas the FRG had to catch up on many reforms.

Dieter Spori stressed that the interlocutors had been agreed that the dialogue between SPD and SED should be continued because this dialogue had been very successful in the past. It had contributed much to improving the relatonship between both German states. There has also been much agreement among the interlocutors in a further point: that it is absolutely foolish and very dangerous to yearn for a reunification in the borders of 1937.

Hans Modrow then met with Mayor of Stuttgart Manfred Rommel, and with the director of the Wuerttemberg State Theater, Professor Wolfgang Gonnenwein.

Paper Omits Part of Statement

AU2609104689 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1000 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] The central organ of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, did not print the complete version of a statement made by the Dresden Bezirk party chief, Modrow, on the situation in the GDR. In a report on Modrow's visit to Baden-Wuerttemberg, the Central Committee member is reported as saying that the GDR has been pursuing a policy of reforms since its founding. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND omitted the sentence that there are many things in the GDR which must be given some thought. However, he wants to do that at home and not discuss it in public, Modrow pointed out. The Dresden Bezirk party leader is currently in Stuttgart at the head of a delegation that has been invited by the Baden-Wuerttemberg Land SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany].

Krenz Leads Friendship Visit to PRC

LD2209191789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1449 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A GDR party and state delegation led by Egon Krenz, Politburo member, Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee secretary and Council of State deputy chairman, will travel on a friendship visit to the PRC from 25 September-2 October. This visit is at the invitation of the CPC Central Committee and the PRC Government.

During the visit the delegation will meet with the party and state leadership of China, will become acquainted with the achievements of the Chinese people in the construction of socialism in the capital and various provinces of the country and participate in the festivities on the PRC's 40th anniversary.

Bruenner Meets With PRC Military Group

LD2409160889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1010 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The contacts and cooperation between the GDR National People's Army [NVA] and the PRC People's Liberation Army will continuously develop. Lieutenant General Horst Bruenner, GDR deputy minister of national defense and chief of the

Political Main Administration of the NVA, emphasized this today to a Chinese delegation headed by Lt Gen Guo Linxiang, deputy director of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army. The two sides acknowledged the long years of friendly relations and cooperation between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the CPC, and between PRC and the GDR, which has received significant impetus during the visit made by Erich Honecker in 1986 to the PRC. Lt Gen Bruenner expressed his pleasure at the fact that the Erich-Weinert-Ensemble of the NVA will visit China on the occasion of the upcoming 40th anniversary of the foundation of the People's Republic.

Fischer Arrives in New York for UN Session

LD2409230389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2227 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] UN/New York (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer arrived in New York on 24 September to take part in the 44th UN General Assembly. Shortly after arrival, the foreign minister stressed in a statement: "The GDR is attending the 44th United Nations General Assembly intending to find paths toward disarmament, the settlement of international conflicts and the solution of economic, ecological, social, and humanitarian issues. It expects from this forum new impetus and concrete contributions to the stabilization of the healthy trend in international relations.

"The 40th anniversary of the GDR will fall during the initial phase of the session. This anniversary makes it clear everywhere that the socialist German state has developed into a pillar of stability and security in Europe and is an active and reliable partner in the striving for detente. This session is facing many problems which need solving. We are firmly counting on the readiness of all states to do so constructively and in a businesslike way what will serve peace and thus man and mankind."

Oskar Fischer stressed that he is looking forward to meeting numerous counterparts and UN representatives, which offers the opportunity for proven and useful exchanges of views on bilateral, regional and multilateral problems.

Meets Counterparts

LD2509211189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1736 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] UN/New York (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer conducted talks on Monday on the sidelines of the 44th UN General Assembly with foreign ministers from other states.

During an exchange of opnion with Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca, the Belgrade conference of the Nonaligned Movement was assessed as a great success. Malmierca hailed the participation of the GDR at this meeting as a guest. At the same time, during the talk with Oskar Fischer, he condemned the campaign of incitement against the socialist German state conducted by certain circles. Malmierca underlined that it was a matter of allowing no space for the policy of differentiation conducted against the socialist states. Oskar Fischer stressed that the GDR would hold fast to its policy of close relations and construction cooperation with its allies.

In a talk with the foreign minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dali, the forthcoming 40th anniversary of the GDR provided the opportunity to stress the use of bilateral cooperation. The interlocutors agreed that increased significance is accorded to this cooperation in the present situation.

Bilateral relations were also the focus of a meeting between Oskar Fischer and the foreign minister of the Republic of Ireland, Gerard Collins, who has been in office since July.

Soelle Receives Albanian Planning Deputy

AU2609202889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23-24 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Cooperation Between GDR and Albania"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [22 September] Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Gani Qemu, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who is in the GDR for deliberations on the development of economic relations. During the friendly meeting, results and tasks of economic, industrial, and scientific-technological cooperation between the two countries and the preparation of the first conference of the GDR-People's Socialist Republic of Albania joint commission were discussed.

Horst Tschanter, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission, and Ilir Bocka, ambassador of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the GDR, participated in the talk.

RCP Study Delegation Concludes GDR Visit

AU2609200489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23-24 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "RCP Study Delegation Concludes Visit to the GDR"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [22 September], at the conclusion of its visit to the GDR, a study delegation of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], headed by Gheorghe Marinoiu, secretary of the Bucharest RCP municipal leadership, was received for a talk by Hermann Poeschel, member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and head of the Research and Technical Development Department of the Central Committee. Proceeding from the basic guidelines provided by the seventh and eighth session of the SED Central Committee,

Hermann Poeschel explained to the Romanian guests experiences and results in implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress.

During an exchange of experiences, the RCP delegation was briefed on the political work of the SED to promote science and technology and on the utilization of most recent results from research and development.

The Romanian delegation held talks in the SED bezirk leaderships of the capital city of Berlin and of Potsdam and visited enterprises and institutions of these bezirks. During a visit to the Socialist Economic Management Central Institute the guests were acquainted with the tasks of the institute and its experiences in the advanced training of leading cadres of industry.

Honecker Greets Organization of Islamic States

AU2609193389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23-24 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Congratulations to the Organization of the Islamic Conference"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent a congratulatory telegram to Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, amir of the state of Kuwait and chairman of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, on the 20th anniversary of the founding of the organization. This telegram stresses the contribution of the Islamic states to securing a peaceful and fruitful development of mankind and the GDR's readiness to deepen and expand the relations with the organization and its member states.

Minister Discusses Cooperation With Iran

AU2709002589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Sep 89 p 5

[ADN report: "GDR-Iranian Cooperation Discussed"]

[Text] Tehran- Wolfgang Stamm, deputy minister for construction of general machinery, agricultural machinery, and vehicles, who is currently in Tehran on the occasion of the International Trade Fair, has been received for talks by Mohammad Reza Ne'matzadeh, chairman of the Iranian side of the GDR-Iran Joint Commission for Economic and Technological Cooperation. Both sides expressed their satisfaction at the results achieved in trade and economic relations, and discussed possibilities of future economic cooperation.

SED Greets Israeli CP on 70th Anniversary

AU2609200889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Sep 89 p 7

[ND report: "SED Firmly and With Solidarity at the Side of the Communist Party of Israel"]

[Text] East Berlin—The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] has sent the following greetings message to Meir Vilner, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, in Tel Aviv:

Esteemed Comrade Vilner:

On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Israel, I convey to you, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, as well as to all Israeli Communists fraternal greetings and cordial congratulations from the SED Central Committee.

During the past 7 decades of its work, the Communist Party of Israel has followed a path full of struggle as the most consistent representative of the interests of the Jewish and Arab working people. Despite persecution, reprisals, and slander, it has always stood fearlessly in the front ranks of the struggle against exploitation and national oppression, for peace, democracy, and social progress.

The SED highly values the courageous and determined work of the Israeli Communists for a lasting Israeli-Palestinian peace on the basis of the principle "two states for two peoples." With this your party is making an effective contribution to the fact that today in Israel the voice of the forces of peace, reasons, and dialogue is becoming increasingly audible. The SED emphatically supports the view of the Israeli Communists that now more intensive efforts are necessary to pave the way for a lasting peace in the Middle East.

It gives us pleasure that the longstanding friendship and trusting cooperation between our parties are developing steadily. Rest assured that the SED will continue to stand firmly and with solidarity at the side of the Communist Party of Israel and will work with all its strength for deepening the fraternal relations.

We wish the Israeli Communists further successful work in the struggle to strengthen the Communist Party of Israel, to solve the social and national problems, as well as to bring about a democratic peace in the region.

With Communist greetings,

SED Central Committee

E. Honecker

General Secretary

Reinhold Discounts 'Frivolous Experiments'

PM2609154689 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 20 Sep 89 p 5

[Interview with GDR Socialist Unity Party Central Committee Member Otto Reinhold by Richard Swartz:

"GDR Ideologist Warns Against Frivolous Experiments"—date, place not given; first paragraph is SVENSKA DAGBLADET biographical note]

[Text] Otto Reinhold. After 77-year-old Kurt Hager, 63-year-old Otto Reinhold is today the GDR's chief ideologist. As head of the Communist Party's own "think tank," the Academy of Social Sciences in East Berlin, Reinhold exerts a very strong influence when it comes to providing an ideological base for East Berlin's practical policies and drawing up the course for the future. Professor Reinhold was born in German Sudetenland, now part of Czechoslovakia, is a member of the Communist Party Central Committee, and was originally an economist. As this interview shows, he is a firm defender of orthodox socialism and is more than skeptical about reforms, or at least those applied to the GDR.

[Swartz] Professor Reinhold, recently more than 15,000 GDR citizens have fled to the FRG. Is this a catastrophe for your state or do you view it as something that can be lived with?

[Reinhold] I view it as neither one thing nor the other. What has happened is of course very tragic and we take it seriously. But as a problem it has two sides. One is that what we have is carefully planned action from the West which goes against a long line of principles which must apply in relations between the two German states: The thesis is that the Federal Republic has a sort of all-embracing responsibility for all Germans, that it does not accept our citizenship, conflicts with all the agreements between our two states. They have quite simply violated the GDR's sovereignty, and even if we want to do our utmost to further the dialogue between us, what has happened has hardly promoted such efforts. The other side of the problem is that we here in the GDR must begin to think about why so many citizens are prepared to leave their country. Such a a discussion has already started here and you can be sure that we will look at the reasons for what has happened very carefully.

[Swartz] Can we expect a broad public discussion of the refugee problem?

[Reinhold] After being the targets of such a smear campaign in the media, of a provocation which is directed against the very status quo in Europe, we do not, as you can well understand, intend to discuss this problem in the full glare of publicity. But all our problems are bound to be raised in the discussion in preparation for the party congress next year, and if you have read our press in recent weeks I think that you will find that we have already begun this discussion, that we are discussing our problems more openly than we perhaps did in the past.

[Swartz] Are you personally able to imagine what makes a young person leave the GDR? Is there anyone from your family or circle of friends who has fled?

[Reinhold] No, no one. Why does someone leave their country? you ask. In every country there must be illusions and dissatisfaction among people and when they come together I can imagine that the person who does not think further than tomorrow can allow himself to be seduced into leaving his country. In the present case people have presumably been dissatisfied not only for material reasons, but have unfortunately also been irritated from time to time by bureaucracy. Perhaps one or two have received harsh treatment, but there are bound to be many other causes. The opportunity to travel also comes into the picture. But in the past 2 years there have been great changes in precisely this area. In 1988 4.5-5 million GDR citizens travelled west—a significant number, bearing in mind that we have a population of 16.8 million. And this year there are bound to be more.

[Swartz] Do you think that whose who flee or choose to stay in the West are an insignificant minority or are they the tip of the iceberg of dissatisfaction?

[Reinhold] I would think that they are a small minority. This year 1.8 million tourists from the GDR visited Hungary. You can always dispute whether there were 10,000, 11,000, or 15,000 who did not come back, but the proportions still speak clearly.

[Swartz] But if it were only a small minority who want to leave, why can the borders not be opened up completely, as in Hungary, for example?

[Reinhold] We are working to make it easier for our citizens to travel, but unfortunately this also creates economic problems. It is economic reasons which lie behind our travel restrictions, not political reasons. In practice all those who have relatives in the West can already travel; only people who do not have relatives, people who have loyally rallied round to support the GDR, are unable to travel today. Can you tell me why we should consider those who do not have relatives in the West to be worse than those who have relatives? No, as you can see, this is a question exclusively of economics and not of politics. If we were to send a million citizens to the Federal Republic for 8-10 days, each one would have to be provided with at least DM500-600. That does not sound so much perhaps, but for a population of just over 16 million these are sums which we do not have at present. At the same time we must not forget that there are other problems connected to open borders. The border we are talking about is the most sensitive in the whole world; on both sides there is the greatest concentration of nuclear arms and conventional forces in existence anywhere. This border is quite simply of crucial significance to peace and security in the whole of central Europe, indeed, for peace far beyond central Europe. That is why it is not possible to permit any frivolous experiments here.

[Swartz] What do you mean by frivolous experiments?

[Reinhold] Heeding those who demand that we pull down the wall, for example. There are also elements in Bonn's policies which amount to great obstacles. It does

not recognize this state border in any international legal sense; Bonn does not recognize the existence of GDR citizenship, it lets its own citizenship cover all Germans. Despite this, we have a tremendous traffic back and forth across this border, but in order to be able to increase it further we must first reduce the risk of military confrontation along the border and Bonn must give recognition to it under international law. I view the disarmament negotiations as hope-inspiring. Unfortunately at the same time certain circles in the Federal Republic have begun to discuss borders again in a way which will certainly not make it easier to open the border we are talking about.

[Swartz] But are the causes of the problem not to be found in the GDR itself? If people felt at home here they probably would not leave in such large numbers. Since the GDR was founded in 1949 nearly 4 million have left. This year alone a little over 100,000 will emigrate legally, and in addition there are the 15,000 who have fled through Hungary. Surely this must mean that in 40 years this state has not succeeded in solving its basic, literally existential problem?

[Reinhold] You must not forget that what we are building here is a completely new society, a society that is new in principle. Of course we have not always carried out our task in the very best way; we have also made mistakes.

[Swartz] What mistakes?

[Reinhold] For example, when we took as our point of departure for industry and agriculture the principle "the bigger, the better" or when we sometimes copied the Soviet Union all too slavishly. That sort of thing has created problems; there cannot be a model valid for all socialist states. But because we are building something new here we have always been a society on the move, with much turbulence, and in the final analysis this does not suit everybody. Not everyone in the GDR is a convinced socialist.

[Swartz] How many people are, do you think? The majority?

[Reinhold] Yes, I think so.

[Swartz] Nevertheless it seems as if the people's discontent in the GDR has grown in the last few years. If you talk to people here or to those in the refugee camps in Hungary, they all say the same thing: Since the end of the seventies the supply of goods has grown worse and worse; we get less and less for our money. When we want to change our marks when abroad, as here in Hungary, they push them back to us across the counter. People do not want to have anything to do with our money; it is not worth anything. Outside the GDR we are only second-class citizens.

[Reinhold] I doubt very much whether the supply of goods in the GDR has deteriorated; all objective data contradict this. Here and there there may be some shortcomings, but on the whole living standards here are improving, not deteriorating. Of couse there are problems, such as those connected with travel and those you describe in the Hungarian example, but we take them seriously too.

[Swartz] Have you thought about punishing the Hungarians for what they have done?

[Reinhold] Well, there can be no question of punishing them. What is involved here are merely differences of opinion. In our view the Hungarian Government has broken existing agreements and we take a serious view of that; we view it as interference in the GDR's internal affairs. Otherwise we have very good relations with Hungary, and this is also true of our two parties. Nevertheless what has happened is painful to us; it is like a thorn in the side of our relations. But revenge? There can be no question of anything like that.

[Swartz] But by acting as it has done, has Budapest not accepted in practice the Bonn stance that all Germans have a right to West German citizenship?

[Reinhold] It has at least lent support to it.

[Swartz] Is that not bad enough?

[Reinhold] Yes, you have said so yourself. But we cannot break off our ties with Hungary or begin a campaign to exact revenge.

[Swartz] Do you have the impression that Moscow has taken your side in this conflict?

[Reinhold] Yes. The TASS declaration supports us, Yegor Ligachev supported us during his visit here, and Mikhail Gorbachev himself is coming to the GDR's 40th anniversary 7 October.

[Swartz] But Moscow has also been very careful to avoid criticizing Hungary.

[Reinhold] That is true, but by fully supporting our position Moscow has also expressed indirectly what it thinks of the Hungarian position. For the Russians it is not simply a question of the GDR or how people are able to leave out country; it is a question of the whole of the postwar order in Europe.

[Swartz] Is it perhaps also that the GDR is more important than Hungary from the Soviet viewpoint?

[Reinhold] Yes, the alliance between the Soviet Union and the GDR is the crucial axis.

[Swartz] Can you tell me why for all these years emigration between the two German states has gone in one direction only, from East to West? Why are there no West Germans who want to come to the GDR?

[Reinhold] One reason is that those in the West who value the GDR are the very people who primarily want to change their own society, that is, the Federal Republic. It can never be our policy to encourage these

people to come here to the GDR. Another reason is that the Federal Republic is a much wealthier country than the GDR. It's not just any country we have to measure ourselves against! It is the Federal Republic, the state which has the greatest economic potential in the whole of Western Europe. But if you take the last 10 years I would think nevertheless that more people have emigrated from the Federal Republic—to the United States, France, Australia, and Canada—than from the GDR. But that of course is no excuse for us.

[Swartz] You yourself are among those in the GDR who stress most strongly that socialism cannot be guaranteed without a certain guaranteed level of economic growth.

[Reinhold] Dynamic economic developments are absolutely necessary if we want to be able to achieve the socialist goals we set ourselves. Stagnation or even recession must be avoided; they must be completely ruled out.

[Swartz] Can you give some concrete figures for the growth that is necessary? How much growth does the GDR need?

[Reinhold] We are assuming that in the nineties we will need an annual growth rate of 3.5-4 percent.

[Swartz] Otherwise everything will go to the dogs?

[Reinhold] I do not want to say "to the dogs," but our scope to make choices would be much less.

[Swartz] And then there would be social unrest and strikes, as we have already seen in Poland and the Soviet Union?

[Reinhold] Only through dynamic economic developments can we find suitable solutions to our social problems, which in turn must have suitable solutions for us to be able to guarantee such economic developments.

[Swartz] Do you see a risk of future strikes in the GDR?

[Reinhold] I think that we have to keep two things separate here: Of course difficulties will arise in the nineties when it comes to solving the economic and social problems. But strikes? No, I see no such danger for the GDR.

[Swartz] How do you view Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of reform? Is it irreversible? Is it a policy of no return?

[Reinhold] I consider that this policy is absolutely necessary for the Soviet Union, that it would have been better if it had been set in motion 10 years ago, and I am convinced that there is no alternative to it. Despite all the difficulties and all the contradictions connected with this policy, neither I nor my party sees any alternative to it and we are therefore ready to support this process in the Soviet Union as much as we can, both economically and politically.

[Swartz] In Budapest and Warsaw it is said that your party, the Socialist Unity Party, is not at all in favor of reform policies, that you do not support them, and are hoping most of all that Gorbachev will fail.

[Reinhold] That is completely untrue. We are not dreamers! Every politically aware person in the GDR fully realizes that the future of socialism in its present phase of development depends primarily on whether or not the changes in the Soviet Union succeed. Also, it is in our interest that they succeed: One of our problems is that in certain areas in the Soviet Union too little is happening or things are moving forward much too slowly, for example, when it comes to applying new scientific and technical discoveries in economic practice. Some 40 percent of our foreign trade is with the Soviet Union; for us it is exclusively a question of survival. Actually I do not know a single person here who wants the transformation to fail—but that does not mean that we agree with everything that is now being said or done in the Soviet Union.

[Swartz] With what do you not agree?

[Reinhold] We do not agree, for example, with Soviet artists appearing in West Berlin and saying that they want German reunification. There are also economists in the Soviet Union who have illusions about a free market, who are convinced that it will solve all the problems. Nor do we agree with people saying that you have to begin with democracy and glasnost in the hope that things will start to move and lead to an improvement in the economic situation. That recipe has clearly failed.

[Swartz] But is it not Mikhail Gorbachev's own recipe?

[Reinhold] Yes, but it it is clear that it has not succeeded. Our own contribution to what is happening in the Soviet Union is to stand for political and economic stability.

[Swartz] You talk about illusions about free-market forces. Let us take Poland. People there now want to introduce a market economy, what was formerly state property will be privatized, the prime minister is a Catholic, and Poland has dissociated itself from the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and expressed regrets that Poland itself took part in it. To be brief: Is Poland still a socialist state?

[Reinhold] Absolutely.

[Swartz] Absolutely?

[Reinhold] Yes, Poland is a socialist state. And I doubt whether those privatization plans will be fully implemented. I also doubt whether they will produce any economic effect worth mentioning. If we look at today's Western Europe, but also at Japan and the United States, we see an enormous process of economic concentration. Daimler and Messerschmidt are merged in the largest arms company in Europe's history, the five largest Japanese electronic concerns get together when it comes to research, things are the same in the United States, and things will be the same in the EEC. All this corresponds to pure economic necessity. This applies particularly to

research. Individual companies cannot manage on their own. And here in the GDR? Those who stand up here and say that now we must have small private firms, that we must solve the problems surrounding the market, are people who I think are the victims of an illusion. What they say has nothing to do with reality. True, this does not mean that we should not set store by the market, but we think that there are certain processes that will not be controlled by it.

[Swartz] Thus there can be no question of a market economy of the type that the Poles and Hungarians have in mind?

[Reinhold] No.

[Swartz] Presumably it must also be disturbing for you now that the Poles and Hungarians have dissociated themselves so clearly from the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. Are you not afraid that that you will suddenly find yourselves standing there alone with your view, that even Gorbachev will finally not mince words and openly condemn the invasion?

[Reinhold] Gorbachev and his party have already adopted a clear stance on this issue, and it was not a rejection. What was done in 1968 has not been repudiated. Instead they have taken as their point of departure that 1968 has to be seen in its context, against the background of the situation which prevailed at the time. Also, Gorbachev and his party have dismissed the view that they are in fact pursuing the same policies as the then-Czechoslovak leadership pursued in 1968.

[Swartz] Does this mean that you consider that the Polish and Hungarian Communists have adopted a totally reprehensible stance?

[Reinhold] There are communists and communists. I know a large number of Polish and Hungarian Communists who take a different view.

[Swartz] And who can no longer make their views heard?

[Reinhold] In some cases that is probably true, but there are also those who speak their minds. It is always dangerous when you take phenomena out of their historical context and view them from the perspective of the present moment.

[Swartz] So Poland is a socialist state, but you have reservations about the program that has been put forward to extricate the country from its crisis. Have I understood you correctly?

[Reinhold] Recently I have met with a long series of representatives from Poland, but even today I am unable to see any clear program for either its social or its economic problems. There seem only to be individual, irreconcilable proposals. But of course the political representatives in Poland—Solidarity and the Communists—must make their own decisions. As far as the situation in Poland and Hungary is concerned, you must not forget what sort of state they have been in since the beginning of the eighties, both politically and economically.

[Swartz] That is: two crisis-ridden societies where perhaps both wishful thinking and a little desperation are included in the programs against the crises?

[Reinhold] I think it is quite normal for people to consider certain compromises necesssary in such circumstances. People are simply looking for a way out which they have not found yet. In all this there are many uncertain factors—we have talked openly about some of them. Both Poland and Hungary have extraordinary difficulties to fight against—and people do not really know how they can be resolved and whether they will succeed. But I believe that both Hungary and Poland will find their way.

[Swartz] As far as the GDR is concerned, you have stated that this state only has a raison d'etre by being what it is, that the GDR can never be anything other than a socialist state.

[Reinhold] Yes. Theoretically, it is possible to imagine a GDR with the same social system as the Federal Republic, but not in practice. Why should two such states, both German and with a common history, live alongside each other?

[Swartz] So you think that reunification would then come as a matter of course, as it were?

[Reinhold] Yes. And it is just such a formula which certain people in the Federal Republic advocate: The GDR minus socialism equals reunification.

'New Forum' Group Denies Opposition Role

LD2509140189 Hamburg DPA in German 1250 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The GDR "New Forum" group, which is independent of the state and the church, sees itself as a "political platform" for all those GDR citizens who are ready for dialogue but not, however, as a declaration of war on the leading SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]. Participants in a meeting in Leipzig yesterday, attended by representatives of various reform groups, made it clear today in East Berlin that no kind of umbrella organization or similar group had been set up at the meeting.

Reports stating otherwise were described as wrong. Nor is the "New Forum" an umbrella for a GDR opposition, painter and coinitiator of the "Forum" Baerbel Bohley emphasized. The various political groupings are working autonomously and wish neither for German-German reunification nor capitalist conditions in the GDR.

In a letter to the East Berlin Ministry of the Interior, participants in the meeting in Leipzig have spoken out for authorization of the "New Forum." At the same time they protested the accusation of "hostility to the state."

To Continue Its Work

LD2609175989 Hamburg DPA in German 1434 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—The GDR-wide collective movement "New Forum," which supports reforms and a broad social dialogue on the acute problems in the country, intends for the time being to continue its work as a "political citizens' initiative." As became known further in a statement from the "Forum" distributed on Tuesday in East Berlin, the aim of gaining legality later, despite the rejection by the Interior Ministry, is being adhered to. [passage omitted]

It says in the "Spokesman's Statement From the New Forum:" "We have checked the legal position which has arisen and have come to the conclusion that the activity of the New Forum will be continued as a political citizens' initiative. We hold fast to the intention to register in the future as an association." It is not yet explained what kind of organizational structure the citizens' initiative intends to adopt. [passage omitted]

Called 'Fifth Column'

LD2609084189 Hamburg DPA in German 0759 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The East BERLINER ZEITUNG has compared the democracy movement gathered in the "New Forum" with a "fifth column." There was obviously hope "on the banks of the Rhine" that this group would undermine the constitutional order of the GDR. Hence, there is big disappointment that the GDR Interior Ministry has rejected "the application for authorization by an antistate association," the paper's commentator wrote today.

The term "fifth column" which arose during the Spanish Civil War refers to a political grouping which works under cover for a foreign power.

Parson on Leipzig Peace Prayer, Demonstration

AU2609143289 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Interview with Leipzig parson Christoph Wonneberger by Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi—recorded; place and date not given]

[Text] Christoph Wonneberger from the Leipzig Lukas Community said the peace prayer in the Nikolai Church yesterday evening. Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi has talked to him about all that happened in Leipzig yesterday:

[Begin recording] [Wonneberger] As on every Monday, the peace prayer was said in the Nikolai Church in Leipzig. Yesterday I participated in the organization of the prayer together with our human rights working group of the Lukas Community. In this peace prayer, we dealt with the present situation characterized by a potential danger, that is, that the previous operations of the security forces, specifically the use of violence, constitute a danger. We were very alarmed by the reactions after the peace prayers and therefore dealt with the topic of violence and nonviolence. This was our main topic.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] During the last peace prayer, the police took vigorous action. The gathering was dissolved right in front of the church. This time things were different. Reportedly, at first the demonstrators marched unhindered through the whole city.

[Wonneberger] Yes, this is correct. This was the first, successful action, at least according to reports that I heard from eyewitnesses. The figure of 8,000 participants seems to be slightly exaggerated. However, about 5,000 people can be assumed to have participated. I think that the whole thing became possible by the great restraint exercised by security officials in this case.

[Coudenhove-Kalergi] At the demonstration, people cried for freedom, equality, and fraternity. The demonstrators sang the "Internationale" and "We Shall Overcome."

[Wonneberger] I know that they also sang a canon that is very often sung in our church, that is "Lord, Give Us Thy Peace." I was greatly impressed by reports from eyewitnesses that, shortly before the end or the dissolution of the demonstration, the slogans, which formerly often said, We want to leave, were for the first time different yesterday and said: We are staying here. [end recording]

Officials Attend Meeting of Party Organizers

AU2609233489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Sep 89 p 3

[ND report: "Every Day the Best for Our Socialist Republic"]

[Excerpts] Karl-Marx-Stadt—On Thursday [21 September], 1,700 group organizers of Karl-Marx-Stadt met for a conference on the tasks of Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] city party organizations within the framework of further preparations for the 12th SED Congress. In the municipal hall they offered a cordial welcome to the members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Horst Dohlus, secretary of the Central Committee, and Siegfried Lorenz, first secretary of the SED bezirk leadership. [passage omitted]

In his opening speech, Dieter Mueller, candidate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the SED bezirk leadership, described the party groups as those control stations where the work of the Communists has the most immediate impact on the working people. [passage omitted]

Kessler Outlines Tasks of Armed Forces

AU2609234289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23-24 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "The Soldiers of the People Have Honorably Fulfilled Their Class Assignment"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The responsibility of the National People's Army, the GDR Border Troops, and the Civil Defense in further implementing the policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], which is aimed at the welfare of the people and at safeguarding peace, was the focal issue of a commanders' meeting in the Defense Ministry on Friday [22 September]. Speaking to generals, admirals, and officers, Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, drew up a balance sheet of the results achieved during the 1988-89 training year in honor of the 40th anniversary of the GDR. At the same time, he set tasks for the Armed Forces during the new training year, during the time of the preparations for the 12th SED Congress.

With varied initiatives and achievements in political and combat training, in the ready alert system, in combat service and service at the borders, in the national economy, as well as in the process of confidence-building measures and security, and in disarmament in Europe, the soldiers of the people have made their specific contribution to the overall strengthening of socialism and peace. This reflects their loyalty to the socialist fatherland, the GDR, and their trust in the SED's policy. The minister thanked all soldiers and seamen, non-commissioned officers and petty officers, warrant officers, officers, civilian employees, and reservists, who have honorably fulfilled the class assignment with industrious and often sacrificial work. In this connection, he stressed that in the future, too, it will be the most important concern of the socialist armed forces not to permit a war—neither a nuclear nor a conventional one—and to protect the peoples and states of the socialist alliance against any kind of imperialist aggression, in line with the principle of the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states and of the GDR. Therefore, it continues to be necessary to deepen the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries.

Referring to the current unrestrained baiting campaign by FRG media and politicians, Army General Heinz Kessler said: "We will not be deterred from our successful path,and under the leadership of the party, together with all social forces, we will continue to shape a developed socialist society as a process of continuity and renewal." The GDR will continue along the path of peaceful coexistence and preserve what has been achieved through cooperation.

During his speech, the defense minister discussed focal issues of socialist competition on the path toward the 12th SED Congress. It is necessary to ensure the necessary defense capability through consistent intensification of the leadership, training, and guarantee processes and to reliably fulfill our tasks at any time, he said.

In a letter to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the GDR State Council, and chairman of the GDR National Defense Council, the participants in the conference expressed their firm determination to strengthen the socialist fatherland and to safeguard peace.

The commanders' meeting was attended by Army General Vladimir Shuralev, representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact in the GDR National People's Army.

Stoph Attends Berlin Exhibition Opening

LD2209174989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1309 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The values and achievments of the socialist German peace state are documented by the national exhibition "40 years of the GDR," which was opened in Berlin on Friday. The first guests were Willi Stoph chairman of the Council of Ministers; Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; and other members of the GDR party and state leadership.

The exhibition in the Museum of German History authentically shows that the workers, under the leadership of the party of the working classs, have created in the last 4 decades an internationally recognized state with highly developed industry and agriculture, education, science, and culture, a state which is steering a sure course for the welfare of the people.

MSZMP Issues Communique on 25 Sep Session

AU2709120989 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Sep 89 p 1

[Text] The MSZMP Central Committee held a meeting chaired by Rezso Nyers on 25 September 1989. In addition to the Central Committee members, the following officials also participated in the meeting: the chairman and secretary of the Central Control Committee; first secretaries of the county and county rank city party committees; secretaries of the Budapest party committee; heads of the congressional delegate groups; the chairman and general secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions; first secretaries of the Nyiregyhaza and Szeged municipal party committee; and the heads of the press.

1. After lively and extensive debate, the Central Committee took a stand on political and organizational issues related to congressional preparations.

—The body discussed a congressional report, presented by General Secretary Karoly Grosz, and expressed agreement with its political line and main statements.

—Presented by Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Presidium, the Central Committee discussed the party's draft manifesto and decided to recommend it for discussion and adoption by the congress.

—The organizational and technical preparations of the congress were received on the basis of Central Committee Secretary Jeno Kovacs's report.

2. The body heard the report of Imre Pozsgay on the trilateral political coordination talks, and acknowledged the work of the MSZMP's negotiating group. The agreement reached is a major step towards the peaceful transition serving the country's future, and the MSZMP is to do its utmost for its implementation.

3. Based on the report of Central Committee Secretary Janos Barabas, the body formulated a draft stand on national reconciliation to be submitted to congress, together with other documents.

Pozsgay on MSZMP Proposal on Workers Militia

LD2009213489 Budapest MTI in English 1527 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 20 (MTI)—'If the duties of the Workers' Militia are to change in future, then its numbers can also change. This proposal is accepted by the members as well. At the same time, we find it reassuring that the government still expects the assistance of the Workers' Militia in defending the country,' Lajos Borzak, spokesman for the organization told MTI.

At the Monday trilateral medium level political interest coordination talks, Imre Pozsgay announced: The HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] proposes to the government to slash the membership of the Workers' Militia from 60,000 to 40,000 by late 1990, as a measure aimed at boosting confidence. They also propose that the armed units within the corps be eliminated and the weapons placed under supervision of the Ministry of Defence. Mr Borzak added that as joining the corps is voluntary, he feels a proper solution would be to have withdrawals voluntary, too. It would not be right to force anyone to leave the corps, questioning their honesty.

The spokesman also said that 900 persons had applied for admission this year, and about the same number of former members indicated their intention to rejoin the body. There is no exact figure on those wishing to leave, it is estimated at several thousand.

Lajos Borzak also said that weapons of the Workers' Militia include pistols, machine pistols, machine guns, light machine guns, and grenade-throwing machine pistols. They used to have anti-tank guns and trench mortars, which were pulled out a long time ago.

Editorial on Tripartite Talks Agreement

AU2709020589 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Sep 89 p 3

[Editorial by Andras Banki: "A Chance"]

[Text] A commentator will not be surprised if the agreement reached at the tripartite talks on 18 September elicits more favorable reactions from foreign democracies than from our domestic environment, which is no longer a dictatorship but not yet a democracy. This is because foreign democracies are already well aware that democracy in the everyday life of society is in fact nothing but the constant confrontation and reconciliation of various political forces on the basis of power conditions that have been freely elected and legitimatized by the people. Of course, this requires a refined political style which includes both a determined intention to implement a political will and political practices, as well as a sense of reality, a readiness to compromise, and tolerance. All these elements, forms, and techniques are not yet established in our society, nor can we say that a carefully prepared and fertile soil is ready to accept the efforts aimed at establishing all this. The arrogance of power and dark moods still thrive on Hungarian soil. In these surroundings, many people must have viewed the television broadcast on the evening of 18 September as if pious souls in patent-leather shoes were going astray on dusty roads full of potholes.

In fact, there was a lot at stake in the series of negotiations held around parliamentary tables for more than 3 months: the creation of conditions for a peaceful transition and for democratic and free elections. The negotiating partners joined forces for this venture that can be justifiably called a task of historic importance in this region of Europe; as a result of these negotiations, essential draft bills emerged for the establishment of a democratic Hungary. There could have been more, but also less, in this agreement! However, precisely in order to avoid going back to the old ways, it is absolutely

necessary for the National Assembly to adopt the consensus-oriented draft bills as soon as possible, even if there are still some open questions left. Negotiations will continue and, if everything goes well, there can be several opportunities to settle these open questions following the upcoming congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. (The government will submit the adopted draft bills to the National Assembly session in September, but in two phases. This autumn session of Parliament—which is expected to be suspended—will continue in October, after the MSZMP congress, and hopefully all the draft bills will become laws at this session.)

In addition to reaching an agreement, the negotiating partners also had much at stake: whether they succeed in defeating the legitimacy crisis, namely that they are actually negotiating the fate of the people without having a mandate from the people, and whether they succeed in reaching an agreement that is also accepted by the people, and which would also justify the existence of these negotiating sides? In this respect, one can hardly disregard the fact that this series of negotiations was in fact an introduction to the election campaign which, understandably, motivated the attitude and tactics of the negotiating partners. For their own benefit and for the benefit of their own endorsement, they had to simultaneously show their differences and safeguard their markedly specific nature, and also display a readiness for compromise in order to ensure the success of negotiations.

Probably derived from this situation is the fact that, among the members of the Opposition Roundtable, the Association of Free Democrats and the Association of Young Democrats refrained from signing the agreement at the plenary session on 18 September. They considered it more important to stress their own views, separate opinions, and their reservations for the entire country, than to accept a compromise in which their difference and specific nature would have probably dissolved. At the same time, one can consider it a responsible decision and a positive gesture that, although they had the possibility, these two organizations did not use their veto to hinder the agreement, an agreement to which they contributed many valuable elements. Obviously, there are rational causes behind their reservations, particularly referring to the creation of equal chances in the elections; therefore, it is particularly unfortunate that the expression of their reservation also included some dissonant tones. In any case, one can expect that, although the Opposition Roundtable will continue for further negotiations, the more we approach the free elections, the stronger the differences between the partners will become and the more they will stress these differences between them—of course, that is if they continue to stick to their original positions, and do not want to create coalitions for election purposes.

On the other hand, compared with its original intentions, the MSZMP has displayed a greater readiness for compromise than for maintaining its original image, although it is enigmatic to speak of an independent feature in the case of the ruling party, because this party is considerably multifaceted. However, much credit goes to Imre Pozsgay for the fact that, in the midst of the intensifying struggle between various trends within the party, it proved to be a more or less balanced negotiating partner; Imre Pozsgay obviously went as far as the Central Committee allowed him to go on the connecting road leading to democracy, and perhaps even further than the Central Committee would have allowed at the beginning of the negotiations. One can notice this move, and not only in the fact that the politician who led the MSZMP delegation at the first plenary session was not the same as the one who led it at the last plenary session.

However, concerning the peaceful transition, some ambivalent feelings are not baseless because, according to the signs, the results of the MSZMP congress are totally uncertain almost 3 weeks before the event. However, concerning the democratic restructuring and the keeping of this agreement, it can be decisive for the country if ground is gained within the party by forces and politicians that are willing to break with the past and that are endeavoring to create a new socialist party. Someone who does not recognize the importance of this and acts as if nothing had happened in this party in recent months only weakens the position of those who encourage a democratic reorganization against those who, in panic at the possibility of losing power, are also able to risk a situation of everything or nothing. On the other hand, it is also obvious that the clear incompatibilities within the party are weakening the entire position of the party on the political arena. If the party fails to overcome these ambiguities at its congress, even at the cost of a party split, then it will have no chance whatsoever at the elections. On the contrary: There might not be free elections here for a long time to come.

It is possible that democracy was still only stuttering in Parliament on 18 September, but this was already the voice of democracy. One who has ears to hear it could understand this. This is no small achievement in a historical situation in which the growing pains of communism have almost enveloped us without a cure in sight. This is the main thing today. Although we have little time, we should have patience to bear the growing pains of democracy because only this can give us a chance to overcome our illness.

Berecz Talks of Party 'Unity', 'Overthrow'

LD2409213589 Budapest MTI in English 1802 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 24 (MTI)—The movement for the Unity of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] aims to bring about the unity of the great majority of party membership in terms of undertaking the socialist ideals on the basis of the spiritual legacy of Marxism and scientific socialism, as the movement perceives a danger that the opposition and the extreme reformists within the party have set out to overthrow the

party, Janos Berecz, member of the Central Committee, said at the national conference of the movement held in Budapest on Sunday. Berecz feels the party should be an organization which is not based on democratic centralism, but on the 'unanimous decision and united action of a symphathetic membership.' The movement for unity wishes to dissociate itself from a Bolshevik-type party and is ready to give up the representation of the dictatorship of the proletariat parallel to ousting those who demoralize the party at its roots. Berecz took sides with maintaining party organizations in the working place.

Participants at the conference proposed that the writing entitled 'The Lessons of Our Historical Path', published as an introduction to the HSWP draft manifesto, should not be discussed by the congress, as its contents would put the party at a disadvantage in the election campaign, as it tends to intensify the paralyzing sense of guilt and disappointment within the party membership.

Sandor Petress, president of the Workers' Marxist-Leninist Party, also took part in and contributed to the conference. He made the request not to make his contribution public.

Budapest MSZMP Conference Ends 24 Sep

LD2409213189 Budapest MTI in English 1902 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 24 (MTI)—The Budapest HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] conference, at which delegates defined the crucial questions recommended for the agenda of the congress, drew to an end on Sunday. The topics recommended for the agenda are the evaluation of the current situation of the country, the view on ownership forms, the interpretation of the changes of systems, the character of the HSWP, its way of functioning, and the debate on science, education and culture as strategic questions.

The conference also touched upon what the name of the HSWP should be. The majority of the delegates voted for leaving the name of the party unchanged. Several contributions dealt with October 23. The delegates said it should be a day of national reconciliation and rejection of violance.

Rezso Nyers, president of the HSWP, who was elected among the 20 delegates of the conference for the HSWP congress, was also present and made a contribution. The other delegates include Laszlo Bekesi, minister of finance, Ivan Berendt., president of the Academy of Science, Mihaly Jasso, Budapest first secretary and Csaba Tabajdi, department head of the Central Committee.

Budapest TV Cites Ivanyi on MSZMP Funds

LD2509140789 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Summary] The issue of Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] properties and incomes is one of those in which the sides at the trilateral negotiations could not come to an agreement. The MSZMP at first refused to give a precise account, then handed over 2 billion forints for the objectives of the opposition, then finally indicated it would come to the general public with precise accounts soon. Pal Ivanyi, MSZMP Central Committee member in charge of economic affairs, has spoken to "The Week" as follows:

[begin Ivanyi recording] Handing over to the government 2 billion forints from MSZMP assets to finance public interest objectives was an MSZMP initiative. Actually the MSZMP has no solely owned property; it is state owned with the MSZMP entitled to manage it. We are talking about properties built partially from state funds and hitherto the MSZMP has the right to manage these. It is this right to manage which is now being turned over to the government, primarily for educational, health, and training purposes. But as to how the government is to use these properties, I cannot say. It may be assumed that a proportion of these relinquished properties will be handed over to the newly formed parties by the administration.

"I think that the MSZMP relinquished these voluntarily, although, by the way, economic rationality also played a part. The decision reflects the party's recognition that supporting and keeping in view the national interests is important not only in words but in deeds, too.

"The delay in providing an account of MSZMP assets stems from the fact that this party has not given an account of its financial situation any time in the past 30 years. Therefore, the books in this regard are considerably disordered—to put it mildly—and to untangle certain things out of them is extraordinarily difficult. There are shortcomings in the book-keeping. A sorting out of the asset ownership issues began in 1972 and it ended in 1978 with the MSZMP handing over all properties used and owned by the party to the state by an accounting transaction, while retaining the right to manage all these properties. All this took place, however, in a way that the original owner was not searched out or was impossible to ascertain."

It could be sorted out by investigating every property—possibly independently. The party membership would like to be clear finally about the property and financial situation of the MSZMP. This is perfectly legitimate and normal. The work began a good few months ago and is not the consequence of the mood of recent weeks, for the leadership too would like to have a clear picture.

"The total wealth of the MSZMP is a little over 10 billion forints, of which the value of properties—on the basis of the valid state accounting terms and not on the

basis of the real commercial value—is over 7 billion. The party's fixed assets aproach the 2 billion mark, and it has cash under 1 billion forints."

Opposition estimates of 50-60 billion forints are exaggerated regarding the MSZMP's asset values; they are presumably based on market evaluation. Since 1957 the MSZMP has been managing some 30 billion forints, of which 20 billions came from membership fees. It has received a budget subsidy since 1970 which, in accordance with the then political and state decisions, appears in the budget of the MSZMP not as subsidy but under the title "contribution to the fulfillment of state tasks undertaken by the MSZMP". This refers to certain educational and training tasks which the state awarded financially, like the Political academy and party education in general. The MSZMP subsidy jumped in 1987-88 as a result of the introduction of income tax and wage grossing. The state subsidy has reached some 5.5-6 billion forints since 1970. The party's state subsidy has decreased by over 30 percent since 1988.

It was this decrease which, I have seen, has made the local county party organizations handle the problems stemming from it somehow. It was this how they rented everywhere their operating party headquarters to enterprises, cooperatives and various organisations or created limited liability companies.

I think that handing over the right of usage to various shadow organizations has ruffled the party's reputation but this must be looked at objectively. "There is no question of slipping them through. For the state ownership status of these properties has not changed anywhere. I think that from a legal or economic point of view these steps could hardly be criticized. Undoubtedly, certain steps may be questioned and attacked, naturally, by the opposition. This must be recognized, but we must get used to fact that there will be hard, open, public debates with the opposition over every step, every issue". [end recording]

Fejti Speaks at Election Center Opening

LD2709025389 Budapest MTI in English 1917 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 26 (MTI)—The Budapest committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] opened an election centre on Tuesday.

Speaking at the election forum after the opening, Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, pointed out that the HSWP should turn into a Marxist-spirited reform party. The president of the republic was going to be a key institution of power and guarantee in the coalition period after the elections, he said.

Mr Fejti stated that any dispute within the HSWP concerning the candidate would weaken the party's position. He mentioned Imre Pozsgay as the party's candidate with a good chance of being elected, and added that his election would also influence the outcome of the parliamentary elections.

Mr Fejti stressed that although the HSWP had lost confidence, the opposition had not yet won it. He said he did not want to underestimate the strength of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, but the 70 per cent result at the by-election was not attained by the forum but lost by the HSWP.

Pozsgay Speaks at Regional MSZMP Conference

LD2409183489 Budapest MTI in English 1657 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 24 (MTI)—To resolve the inertia and restore activity, it is inevitable to declare that the party membership is not responsible for the mistakes and crimes committed under its name, but without its participation. At the same time, we should point out those who are guilty, but do that not with the intention to retaliate, but to take them to political account. It should be proved that society was faced not with a party movement, but with the establishment trying to escape responsibility hiding behind a party facade, Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Presidium, said at a regional HSWP conference held in Szekszard into the late night hours, with the participation of 120 HSWP congressional delegates from five countries of the Transdanubian region. Present at the conference were Pal Vastagh, member of the Political Executive Committee (PIB), and Jeno Kovacs, member of the PIB and secretary of the Central Committee.

Speaking of the experience of the political coordinating talks, Imre Pozsgay said that the agreement passed at the closing session was the best possible from the country's point of view. The crucial laws jointly approved will provide—after their parliamentary approval—sufficient safeguards for a peaceful transition. The forthcoming conference of the HSWP will create the basic conditions for the HSWP or its successor to reshape politics not in a defensive way, but through constructive polemics.

Government Paper Outlines Party Funds

LD2509122689 Budapest MTI in English 1141 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 25, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—According to a new government paper published at the weekend, budget support for all political parties and organisations, including the ruling HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], will total 2.6 billion forints (43 million USD) next year.

While this is 500 million forints (USD 8,3 million) less than last year, if the measure is passed by parliament it will mean more funds for all but the HSWP, whose

income will fall as a result, since up to now opposition groups have either not been eligible or have decided against accepting government support.

One billion forints will go to the parties while 1.6 billion forints will support other movements, associations and organizations.

The opposition parties say that the multiparty democracy must not become more expensive than the previous "one-party dictatorship" and several of them have refused to make use of a 50 million forints budget fund set aside for opposition party running costs.

Long-term party-funding will finally be decided by the party bill. In the transitional period the parliament should decide upon the distribution of the funds, based on an agreement between the parties, the paper says.

Following the parliamentary elections due next spring, funding will be proportional either to the number of seats a party gains or to its membership, or a combination of the two, the government said.

Nemeth on Government-SZOT Relations

AU2609134889 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 19 Sep 89 pp 1,3

[Interview with Premier Miklos Nemeth, by unidentified correspondent: "Miklos Nemeth Gives Interview to MAGYAR HIRLAP—The Government Is Ready To Negotiate With the Interest Representations"—date and place not given]

[Text] In an interview with MAGYAR HIRLAP, Miklos Nemeth spoke about the government readiness for compromises in its tense relations with the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT], convening a SZOT-government meeting, the need for reducing inflation, and about the need for tolerance in implementing the justified wage and social demands.

[Question] The government-SZOT relation are considerably strained. The SZOT leaders often criticize the government's economic and social policy both directly and indirectly, and, as is well known, this criticism often takes the form of a mass demonstration. What is your opinion about these steps?

[Nemeth] I consider them to be deplorable steps. The government is aware of the fact that an extended economic crisis leads to serious social consequences, even if the government is trying to speed up the country's extrication from the current crises when it decides on unpopular measures. I will add that the trade unions have also supported this economic policy guideline because we promised to review and correct the guidelines concerning the interests of individual social strata if we deviate from the accepted economic and social policy guideline. We did that in May this year when we postponed some previously-decided pricing measures because of price increases that exceeded the plans, and we took additional compensatory social policy measures.

[Question] Was the reaction of the government similar to the strikes in August?

[Nemeth] Our readiness for compromise is unchanged, although the government is of the opinion that it has not taken any steps against previous agreements, and thus, it has not given any cause for the recent confrontation actions of the SZOT. As is well known, at its meeting on 24 August, the Council of Ministers initiated negotiations in the National Interest Coordination Council. The SZOT Presidium gave a constructive answer to this initiative at its meeting held on 6 September. SZOT General Secretary Sandor Nagy confirmed this position in a personal letter addressed to me. I myself think that it is extremely important to improve the relations between the government that represents the interests of the entire country and the largest body representing the interests of the employees, and to replace confrontation with cooperation as soon as possible. Therefore, I welcome the aforementioned position of the SZOT Presidium and its readiness to settle the controversial issues by means of negotiations. This fully meets the intentions of the government!

Therefore, I propose a meeting between the government and all the bodies that represent employee interests in October, in accordance with the agreement reached during the SZOT-government meeting held in May. The government regards every legal body that represents interests as a natural partner. At this meeting, we could review the major wage, price, and social policy processes, and, connected with this, we could also review the necessary supplementary measures in case the aforementioned processes have deviated from the plan. We could also discuss the elements of the future economic and social developments that will directly affect the employees.

Economic liberalization demands a more speedy establishment of the so-called market-oriented interest coordination mechanism in the benefit of implementing and safeguarding the interests of a pluralist economy; this economic liberalization also requires us to work out a law on interest representation as soon as possible, a law that would stipulate the rights and obligations of all the organizations involved in representation of interests—government, trade unions, and employers. Let me remind you that the government has widely increased the enterprises' wage management independence, and most prices depend on enterprise decisions today. As a result, the various bodies that represent interest should primarily come to an agreement on real wages with the producers and their representatives, factors that are playing a decisive role in the development of prices and wages, and not with the government.

[Question] Obviously, it is an urgent task for both the SZOT and the government to settle this conflict and

ensure proper conditions for genuine cooperation, and October is relatively far away....

[Nemeth] I also think so. I am convinced that, in the period until the meeting between the government and the bodies that represent employee interests, we should accelerate the activity of the existing body of economic interest coordination, namely the National Interest Coordination Council. Therefore, we proposed convening an extraordinary meeting of this body, and the experts' preparatory work has already begun. This exchange of views could provide a proper framework for examining the SZOT proposals concerning the demand of the enterprises incapable of carrying out a 3 percent wage increase to be granted a tax-free wage increase and an improvement in the wages of budget institution employees.

[Question] Since we are talking about this, the following question arises by itself: Seemingly justified wage and social policy demands are emerging almost daily. What is your opinion about these demands?

[Nemeth] In connection with this, I must stress that the government can only promise to improve wages of workers employed in budget institutions, and the "package deal" aimed at improving the teachers' wages is part of this obligation. However, we must refrain from fulfilling any demand that hinders restructuring. The reevaluation of agreements concerning family allowances and pensions exceeds the jurisdiction of the National Interest Coordination Council. This could be the task of a wider social interest coordination, and the planned Government-SZOT meeting next October could also be part of this task.

I mention here that I agree with the SZOT demand to reduce the inflation rate as possible the rest of this year. However, as I have already mentioned, we must consider the fact that prices are influenced by many circumstances beyond government control. Therefore, our possibilities are limited. At the same time, we must consider the fact the enterprise wages increased at a rate exceeding the maximum rate stipulated by the agreements reached in the National Interest Coordination Council. Besides, making the activity of this council more efficient also requires a broadening of the circle of employer and employee interest representation, and a reevaluation of the sphere of authority of the aforementioned Coordination Council.

[Question] One can also hear opinions that the government does not support the people living on wages and salaries.

[Nemeth] I can say with conviction that this is not true. In its economic and social policy, the government considers the improvement of the condition of people living on wages and salaries and of the pensioners to be an extremely important task, and the government is always ready to cooperate with all the organizations that really represent the interests of these strata of the population and which want to implement these interests.

However, proper readiness for negotiations and compromises, enough tolerance, and naturally, the observance of agreements are indispensable conditions for a successful cooperation. We have long rejected shows of force, pressure before negotiations, and negotiations from a position of power in international relations. I do not think it would be a positive thing to allow these things in our domestic political life.

Assembly Session Split Into 2 Stages

LD2609152989 Budapest MTI in English 1241 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 26 (MTI)—On Tuesday in Budapest, the Hungarian National Assembly approved, with 334 votes for, 7 against and one abstention, that the September session be divided into two stages. The first is to end this week, with the second resuming on October 17.

In the course of determining the agenda, MPs first decided about placing motions from independent MPs on the agenda. A decision was reached to discuss in October the motion by Ms Ilona Nyeki, MP for Pest County. On the amendment to the land law, and the proposal fo Zoltan Kiraly, MP for Csongrad County, on the minister of finance's report on state property which is handled by the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party/MSZMP] and other bodies.

Parliament will also place the motion of MPs Gabar Roszik (Pest County), Jozsef Debreczeni (Bacs-Kiskun County), Guyla Marx ([name indistinct] County), and Erno Raffay (Csongrad County), on declaring October 23 a national holiday, on its October agenda.

Independence Party Holds News Conference

LD2309215289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] In the runup to the forthcoming elections, the events of other parties are also proliferating. Tibor Hollauer was present at the press conference of the Hungarian Independence Party.

[Hollauer] We demand the immediate disbanding of the workers' guard, said Tibor Hornyak the party's chairman. If, however, its members wish to continue serving socialism, let them not do it with weapons: They've got the hammer and the sickle. As for their assets, let them give them to the poor.

This was not the only amazing statement at the press conference of the Independence Party. It was said, for example, that out of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP's] 4,000 pieces of real estate, henceforth only 100 should serve party purposes. These should be shared by all political parties in the country; the other 3,900 should be turned over to resolving the housing problems of young people.

Party Chairman Hornyak stated: The party will not give up its intention to call to account those officials responsible for economic bankruptcy. They are thinking of a calling to account which is not of a penal nature but of a moral and material nature. And they plan to begin this with an immediate reexamination of the former activity of those with pensions over 20,000 forints. Whoever is guilty, they say, should only get the average pension at the time; the rest should go into the pension fund.

It also transpired that the Independence Party wishes to run in the elections but not in the struggle for the vacant deputy seats. As Tibor Hornyak put it, let the present deputies carry the can until the elections.

MTI Report on Meeting

AU2609144589 Budapest MTI in English
1824 GMT 23 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, 23 Sep (MTI)—The Hungarian Independence Party (MFP) is to keep its membership secret until the elections, Party President Tibor Hornyak said on Saturday at a press conference following the session of the party board in Budapest. The maximum limit is at 20,000, as they wish to function not as a mass but as an action party.

The MFP will readily keep in contact with all those political organizations which aim to bring about a neutral, independent and democratic Hungary. Although leaving the door open to any such organizations, the MFP means 'mainly the bourgeois parties', Mr Hornyak said.

In connection with the national political coordinating talks, Mr Hornyak said that the opposition round table, which had not admitted the MFP into its ranks, did not truly represent the interests of the Hungarian people. The MFP representatives also expressed their objection to holding the presidential elections before the parliamentary elections.

Soviet Citizen Seeks Asylum in Budapest

LD2409112289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian
1100 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] For the first time, a Soviet citizen has sought asylum in our country. According to information received by MAI NAP, the 33-year-old man of Hungarian nationality arrived in Budapest on Monday and announced that he does not want to return home. At present, he is being accommodated in a refugee camp. According to lawyers, however, there is not much chance of his obtaining the right of asylum, because, in the terms of the Geneva Convention, he would have to prove that he has been persecuted in his country because of his nationality or his political views.

Horn Continues Visit in New York for UNGA

Meets Foreign Counterparts

LD2609191589 Budapest MTI in English
1241 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] New York, September 26 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, leader of the Hungarian delegation attending the 44th session of the UN General Assembly, has been holding talks with the foreign ministers of several countries currently in New York for the session.

At talks with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Loncar, the sides reviewed bilateral relations, and the possibilities of establishing cooperation with the European integration organizations.

After calling on Joseph Garba, chairman of the General Assembly session, Mr Horn held talks with Foreign Minister Nakajama of Japan, Major of Great Britain, and Van den Broek of the Netherlands. The negotiating partners reconfirmed that their countries are following the Hungarian political and economic reforms with interest and understanding. They discussed concrete proposals and planned steps with which the mentioned countries could promote the emergence of diverse cooperation between Hungary and the industrially-developed states.

Talks With President Bush

LD2609225889 Budapest MTI in English
2001 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] New York, September 26 (MTI)—During the reception and gala dinner given in honour of the foreign ministers attending the United Nations General Assembly in New York, U.S. President George Bush met in private with a few ministers, the first of whom was Gyula Horn.

The President spoke in appreciative terms about his visit to Hungary and the measures taken since then to promote the reform process, and pledged to increase U.S. support. Mr Horn conveyed to Mr Bush the good wishes of Hungarian leaders.

Gyula Horn also met foreign ministers Alois Mock of Austria and De Michelis of Italy. The discussion with the Austrian foreign minister covered relations between Hungary and EFTA [European Free Trade Association], and the latest Hungarian initiative on regional security and cooperation which Austria termed as a positive political move.

Mr Horn and Mr De Michelis reviewed the development of relations between Hungary and the European Community.

Government Memo on Trade With West Issued

LD2709030389 Budapest MTI in English 1354 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 26, (MTI-econews)—The Hungarian Government has stated that all Hungary's parties and political groupings are in agreement that the country's ultimate goal is to become an equal member of the democratic community of the advanced nations.

In a memorandum to the group of 24 which was made public in Brussels on Tuesday, Hungary appealed to the EC and EFTA [European Free Trade Association] countries to stop treating Hungary as a 'state-controlled trading nation', and to establish temporary free-trade agreements. It also called on the 24 western countries to issue a letter of intent supporting the reform processes in Hungary in order to create a favourable climate for the country to raise additional loans.

The government also asked for the agreement signed with the EC last year to be implemented more speedily so that quantitative restrictions on Hungarian exports to the EC can be removed by January 1 next year. It would also like to see the G-24 inject 1.5 billion dollars of working capital into Hungary over the next five years.

Measures currently being taken in Hungary are all aimed at creating a parliamentary democracy based on a multi-party system, and establishing a genuine market economy, while at the same time avoiding extreme social inequalities, the Hungarian Government memorandum states.

The paper admits that considerable risks are involved in the changes which will be carried out within a relatively short period, the Hungarian Goverment considers implementation of the reforms the only viable road ahead in the current situation.

The government would very much appreciate it if the 24 countries declared their support as quickly as possible for the Hungarian reforms, as this would help boost Hungary's creditworthiness. The government would also be very appreciative if the G-24 were to back up the restructuring process in Hungary with financial guarantees.

The Hungarian Government is strongly committed to a radical and consistent implementation of the reform programme, even if this initially causes social conflict. But if, in the course of implementing the programme, the economic administration were forced to introduce restrictions that cause a serious and long-term drop in the country's economic performance and living standards, as well as an activisation of the conservative forces of society, then this would seriously impede both economic development and the progress of the democratisation process, and would have an unwelcome impact both on the fate of Hungary and the other East European countries now stalking the path of reform.

The memorandum goes on to say that Hungary's external financing requirements will be between 2.7 and 3.1 billion dollars in the years 1990-1992, the assistance of Western governments is essential for this to be met.

Two appendices to the memorandum list the development priorities and foreign investment demand of the Hungarian food processing industry, estimated at 1.5 billion dollars over the next five years.

Nagymaros Agreement Still Not Reached

LD2709024989 Budapest MTI in English 2134 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Pozsony (Bratislava), September 26 (MTI)—After the abortive talks of Czechoslovak and Hungarian international legal experts, the environmentalists also failed to reach agreement on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam project. Although the Czechoslovak side admits that problems exist, it considers them less serious than the Hungarians or believes they can be solved after the completion of the Dunakiliti-Kortvelyes reservoir and the commissioning of the barrage system, said academician Arpad Berczik, head of the Hungarian delegation to the Pozsony (Bratislava) talks.

Mr Berczik said that during the discussion of the two countries' environmental experts, which ended on Tuesday, both parties presented the necessary scientific data, but did not reach agreement. The Czechoslovak scientists insisted that all environmental problems could be solved after the facility has been set up and put into operation. The talks made it clear that the two sides have irreconcilable differences as to the solution and scheduling of the environmental problems relating to the project, Mr Berczik said.

Finance Minister Meets Officials in U.S.

LD2709025689 Warsaw PAP in English 1822 GMT 26 Sep 89

[By PAP correspondents Jerzy Gorski and Tadeusz Jacewicz]

[Text] Washington, Sept. 26—Poland's Vice Premier and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerwicz, who is taking part in the session of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, met here today with ministers of finance of Great Britain, Japan, the FRG, France, with the leadership of the IMF and the World Bank and with representatives of both houses of the U.S. Congress and the Bush administration.

Vice-Premier Balcerowicz talked with vice-president of the World Bank W. Thalwitz and director for Eastern Europe E. Lari as well as with a group of World Bank experts.

On the initiative of the Congress, Leszek Balcerowicz met with leading representatives of the two houses, including the Republican and Democratic leaders in the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The Polish finance minister met with Republican leader in the Senate Senator Robert Dole and a group of leading Republican senators. He also held a meeting with First Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger.

The meetings with politicians and financiers were attended by chairman of the Economic Council Minister Witold Trzeciakowski and president of the Narodowy Bank Polski Wladyslaw Baka.

The talks focused on the economic programme presented by the Polish vice-premier and on the programme of external assistance connected with it.

Skubiszewski Meets UK Counterpart at UNGA

LD2709030889 Warsaw PAP in English 1846 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] New York, Sept. 26—Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, now on a visit here at the 44th session of the U.N. General Assembly, met today with Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain John Major.

The two ministers positively assessed bilateral relations which recently have been marked by dynamic contacts and cooperation, especially in the political field.

Minister Skubiszewski stressed that Poland expected an active economic involvement of Great Britain in Poland, and especially the restoration of the former higher position Great Britain had in economic cooperation with Poland.

John Major stated that Great Britain would support Poland in overcoming her difficulties, including Poland's negotiations with the International Monetary Fund and the Paris Club.

Also today, Minister Skubiszewski attended a meeting of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty states which focused on East-West relations.

Polish Officials Meet Paris Club for Debt Talks

AU2109123789 Paris AFP in English 1131 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Paris, Sept 21 (AFP)—Polish Government officials have met representatives of the Paris Club of creditor nations here for talks on easing Poland's massive foreign debt, sources said Thursday.

The informal meeting Wednesday was attended by Poland's deputy finance minister, Janusz Sawicki, and by officials representing Poland's 17 western creditors, the sources added.

Ways to deal with Poland's burgeoning public debt, estimated at around 45 per cent of the country's overall 39 billion-dollar foreign debt, were examined at the meeting but no formal decisions were taken.

The last agreement to reschedule part of Poland's debt was signed in December 1988. That agreement called for the rescheduling of nine billion dollars over 10 years with a five-year grace period.

Poland's new government, led by Solidarity Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, has said that only a massive and immediate infusion of cash could restore Poland's sagging economy.

At a summit here in July, the leaders of the world's seven richest democracies said they would support a "gentle and open" plan to reschedule part of Poland's debt through the Paris Club.

Poland is Eastern Europe's most heavily-indebted country.

Implications of German Question Examined

PM2709104489 Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 1 Sep 89 p 3

[Teresa Szefler commentary: "Nothing Is Given For Ever..."]

[Text] The 50 years which separate us from September 1939 and the almost 45 years of peace have erased memories from our minds. Generations have been born and raised for whom September 1939, July 1944, or May 1945 are just dates in history books. In the turmoil of everyday life, burdened by our problems, at odds with one another, forever arguing over our yesterdays and our tomorrows, we have no time—and frequently feel no need—to consider the past or envisage our future.

However, the half-century that has passed since the outbreak of World War II can still cause surprisingly topical and painful reflections and prompt us to ask ourselves where we are and what our position is. Prof Antoni Czubinski, historian and Germanist, director of Poznan's Western Institute, points out, for example, that today the once-vanquished Germany is again a world power and a leading force in Europe, whereas "Poland appears to be weaker now than it was in 1939. Confusion and disorientation prevail within it today. The talk of Germany's reunification and of the need to give Germany the benefit of the doubt is heard with increasing frequency. Has Germany truly drawn its conclusions from the war it lost? Can it really be given the benefit of the doubt? We have found ourselves again at a major turning-point in our history. What will tomorrow bring us? It is unlikely that there will be a war, but would we be able to cope with the economic and cultural expansion of a unified Germany? What position would Poland occupy in a Europe united under German hegemony?"

These are very painful questions. And it is a great pity that we put them to ourselves only infrequently or not at all. It is as if we as a people had lost our self-preservation instinct and our ability to remember. As if we had come to believe that we have reached our final destination in our history while some higher power offers us guarantees of an unchanging configuration outside.

While we are in this state of self-induced tranquillity, any warning of a threat to our security appears to us as just another scare story. After all, many of us have been persuaded that no one threatens us any more and that West German revisionism is simply a convenient propaganda bugbear that the authorities trot out every time they want to divert public attention from our own domestic problems.

This time someone else has done the work for the Polish authorities. It was in the European and world press rather than in Polish papers that the latest debates on the so-called German problem appeared. And these certainly did not espouse a desire for an all-German unity. Among other things, they pointed out that yet again both the government representatives and the Chancellor himself have remembered that the FRG has its own unfinished business in the East according to the theory of the "existence of a Reich within the 1937 borders."

Was that eruption of revisionist urges merely a stereotyped "decorative touch" designed to adorn the traditional meeting of Silesian "compatriots" in Hanover? And was it altogether coincidental?

Let us once again quote Prof Czubinski: "The revisionist circles in the FRG have never really given up their claim to our Western and Northern territories, nor have they abandoned the idea of a continuing German expansion to the East. FRG political scientists regard the 1970 treaty on the principles of normalization of relations with Poland as nothing more than a treaty on the rejection of the use of force. They have been gathering their strength and merely awaiting an opportune moment to return initially to the 1937 borders and eventually to those of 1914. Every now and then they take up those noisy debates lest the world forget them and their claims."

Polish people would be expected to remember the past well, even without the grand ceremonial outpourings of Bavarian Christian Social Union Chairman Theo Waigel. But it is, rather, from the safely distant Britons and the French—both, after all, Germany's allies—that they have provoked a reaction. It is really quite simple: The Europeans, who have drawn conclusions from their history lessons, prefer a divided Germany within the present borders. At least for the time being, while we are still a long way from a peaceful Europe untroubled by any threats. A Europe as a single whole.

The building of a "common European home" is a process which is as inevitable as it is lengthy. What position will Poland occupy within it? A country torn apart by internal contradictions, lacking stability, reeling in a spiral of unending crisis, has little chance of becoming one of the architects and shareholders of this European edifice. It could at best be a troublesome tenant. And our newly-discovered democracy, teetering on the brink of anarchy, will be of no help here at all.

We keep thinking that Europe and the world at large are watching us respectfully all the time, holding their breath in amazement. But it is high time for us to take a more sober and careful look at Europe, instead of leaping wildly ahead with our heads turned back as we concentrate on our fruitless quest to settle old accounts while reality is screeching loudly all around us. Literally and figuratively.

Recent proposals by the head of the Bundeswehr Research Office, Admiral Elmer Schmaehling, to reduce the strength of the West German Army from 495,000 to 200,000 men were politely dismissed by representatives of the Bonn government as "irritating," "futuristic," "utopian," and "private and unofficial." Admiral Schmaehling argued that an army of 200,000 men should be sufficient in a situation when there is no threat of a sudden attack from the East. In reply he was told that reductions in the strength of the Bundeswehr could indeed be considered, especially as there was a shortage of both money and new recruits. For example, in peacetime the West German Army could be reduced to 400,000 men. But on the whole there was no need to rush while we were still awaiting the results of the disarmament negotiations. Speculation about the strength of the Bundeswehr is at present premature and could harm the FRG's position within the Western alliance: This was the conclusion of the discussion. It is an enlightening conclusion for us too.

They say history is a teacher of life. It is not history's fault if its students are slow-witted.

Mazowiecki Chairs Council of Ministers Session

LD2609110489 Warsaw PAP in English 2351 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 25: The Council of Ministers met today chaired by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, reported Government Press Office.

Adopted was a government resolution on appointing a government plenipotentiary for property title transformations. The institution of the government plenipotentiary in the present form is of a passing character.

Adopted was a government resolution on appointing a government plenipotentiary for the reform of the regional self-government. The plenipotentiary, in the rank of undersecretary of the Office of the Council of Ministers, is to be in charge of preparing and implementing a comprehensive reform of the regional self-government and of cooperation with the Sejm and Senate on the work of normative acts to regulate this reform.

Adopted was a government resolution on appointing a Government Liason Committee for Law and Order, under vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Minister of Internal Affairs Czeslaw Kiszczak.

The committee is to be supervised by the premier.

The Council of the Ministers adopted also resolutions dissolving the Socio-Political Committee of the Council of Ministers and the Council for Housing.

The Council of Ministers adopted also a draft resolution on the National Council for Jurisdiction whose implementation, besides the constitutional amendments, is another element of the round table agreements concerning the administration of justice.

The Minister of Labour and Social Policy briefed the government on the consultations with the trade unions on the draft law on indexation.

Biography of New Radio, Television Chief

AU2709122289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Sep 89 p 2

[Text] PAP—The chairman of the Council of Ministers has recalled Jerzy Urban from the post of chairman of the Radio and Television Committee and appointed Dr Andrzej Drawicz in his place.

Andrzej Drawicz was born in Warsaw in 1932. He studied philology at Warsaw University. He has written over a dozen books on Polish and Russian philology. He is a Russian translator. He is also the author of numerous articles and essays that have appeared in the underground press, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, and POWSCIAGLIWOSC I PRACA [MODERATION AND WORK]. He has written a controversial book on perestroyka called "Russia has Not Perished Yet."

His memoirs from numerous visits to the Soviet Union, called "A Kiss in the Frost," are due to be published in the Soviet Union.

He was joint founder of the Students Satirical Theater.

He is an activist in "Solidarity" and in the Society of Academic Courses, and collaborates with the Workers Defense Committee [KOR]. He was interned in December 1981. He is a lecturer at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. In 1988 he was awarded the independent journalists prize. He is married.

Planning Minister Discusses Crisis, Solutions

AU2609211489 Vienna Television Service in German 2010 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Joana Radzyner report on interview with Jerzy Osiatynski, minister of the Polish Central Planning Office, in Warsaw; date not given—recorded; Osiatynski statements in Polish with superimposed German translation in quotation marks]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] In Stalin's time it was the super ministry—the Central Planning Office in Warsaw. From here all economic processes were guided, coordinated, and controlled by the party down to the smallest enterprises. Despite a considerable loss of power since the beginning of the economic crisis 10 years ago, this ministry is still considered a bastion of the party nomenklatura. Now it is to be reduced to being a purely advisory organ of the government.

Minister Osiatynski entered his visitor's hall for the first time for this interview. The visual difference to his predecessors is the Solidarity badge on his lapel.

"Frankly speaking, I feel a bit frightened. After all, this is a gigantic apparatus, and I am not at all accustomed to such apparatuses. So far I lived very close to my work. I only had to go from one room of my apartment to the other and I was at my desk." [passage omitted]

"Whether someone belongs to the social democratic or the liberal reform wing is unimportant now. Because today we all are dragged out of our dreams by reality. We are subjected to such enormous restrictions that a speedy demonopolization or a speedy restructuring of the conditions of ownership are illusory. In view of reality, the most important solutions that would change the system lose their meaning. One of the simplest reason is that there is not a sufficient amount of capital in Poland which might buy our state-owned enterprises."

Only a few days of practical government have been enough to throw the Solidarity ideologists into a dilemma.

"We are constantly looking for solutions that would change the system, while, at the same time, we have to tackle the most urgent every-day problems. We are right in the middle of an economic disaster. This requires speedy action. Of course, sometimes the temptation is

great to take up short-term administrative solutions—distributing something here, giving away something there, as in times of war.

"In particular now, however, it is important to resist such temptations. For the crisis, we must not permit solutions which help to survive the next weeks and then the winter but are in contradiction to our global solutions. Despite everything, I want to make sure that market mechanisms determine what is being produced, how things are produced, and where investments are made. In the same way, I want market mechanisms to determine the direction of aid from the West, the influx of capital, of new technologies, of investments. This is completely independent of the West's emergency aid for the crisis, which we now need so urgently. Frankly, our economic situation is really deplorable. Only recently, I myself, received statistics of our economic situation, which were not retouched. Only now I know what our energy balance will look like this year and what we will be facing. Yesterday, there was a moment—please excuse this highly unpolitical statement—a moment when I simply did not know out of which window of my office I should jump." [passage omitted]

Even under the signs of Solidarity there is no paradise waiting, because:

"In the short term, the big reforms require a certain emergency program. Many subsidies are canceled, and the standard of living of many families will decline even further. Against this background it is indispensable to have certain reserves of staple foods and also foreign currency for the initial time, after carrying out the most necessary deflationary measures to alleviate the biggest problems. Because the first stage after zero hour is always a period of certain turbulences and tensions. However, our problem is that we do not have such reserves and, in this connection, I have to stress once again how important the aid from our friends in the West is for us particularly now—quick aid, because those who help quickly help twice as much.

"I, personally, think that the West must also be interested in giving this aid, because the success of the Polish experiment is, in the end, a question of security in Europe."

However, even now Poland cannot rely exclusively on the West, Osiatynski says.

"From the standpoint of supply of raw materials in Poland, there is no alternative to trade with the Soviet Union. The transport of natural gas or crude oil from the Soviet Union is far cheaper than transport via sea. I think that no country in the Middle East will be willing to sell us its crude oil on loan, and the proposal to pay for crude oil in Western currency is pure utopia under the current conditions in Poland. We do not have any money."

Jerzy Osiatynski dreams of a second office on the top floor of the Warsaw Cultural Palace, of a control tower, so to speak.

"For 2 years I would only watch the horizon and say: I cannot see, I cannot see. And if Premier Mazowiecki asked what I cannot see, I would tell him that I cannot see that prosperity is coming. And after these 2 years I would probably be able to say: I begin to see something. And from this day on, you see, my post will be in great demand. Poland will celebrate an enormous triumph. However, my chair may then already be toppling."

Justice Minister Interview on Law Reform

AU2709013289 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Sep pp 1, 2

[Interview with Justice Minister Aleksander Bentkowski by Krystyna Chrupkowa: "Retaining the Good, and Changing the Faulty"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Chrupkowa] No doubt you are aware of the fact that one of the first issues the premier raised in his Sejm speech concerned the problems of new legislation and the application of the law. What does this fact mean for you as the minister of justice?

[Bentkowski] It means that the premier attaches great weight to the Ministry of Justice. This is also a way of emphasizing the importance of my post as the responsible minister. Additionally, it is a way of assigning me a duty and intensifying the work of the ministry. It is in this type of ministry that progress can be achieved much quicker than elsewhere. In other ministries one has to wait for effects to appear, and this often takes a very long time. At the Ministry of Justice these effects could appear very quickly, because they are solely dependent on organizational effectiveness and speed of administrative action. When I took over this ministry, I told the officials that their party political allegiance did not concern me. I am more interested in their qualifications, their loyalty, and the speed with which the decisions get implemented.

[Chrupkowa] You are the first postwar minister who is also a lawyer. What should we expect from a lawyer who is also responsible for the Ministry of Justice?

[Bentkowski] Above all, a knowledge of the matters in question. Because of my profession, I am familiar with the positive and negative aspects of our system of administering justice, especially at the lowest levels. This allows me to be somewhat objective. I would also like to stress that I do not intend to give preferential treatment to lawyers. It is up to lawyers, by right of their calling, to find their own appropriate standing in society. That is the situation in democratic countries. The less respect for human rights in a particular country, the less standing the legal profession enjoys there. Conversely, the more respect for human rights, the higher the respect for the legal profession. It is the most usual and everyday thing in such countries for the lawyers to be involved in

any investigation right from the outset. In Poland, however, such a thing would be seen as something unusual and extraordinary. It also applies to the highest positions in the state. In the West, you will often find lawyers occupying the highest state positions.

[Chrupkowa] The whole of history seems to be composed of the political careers of lawyers, not all of whom have gone into the history books with honor.

[Bentkowski] The majority, however, has rendered very good service....

[Chrupkowa] The work on the two great legal codes, namely, the civil and the criminal, were begun in a period of a different political reality. Is one to anticipate that the work will now begin from zero?

[Bentkowski] One of my first talks was with Professor Buchala, chairman of the Criminal Law Reform Commission. We both agreed that such a large body would not be capable of effective work. Thus, within the next 3 to 7 days, I shall have to make a decision on reducing the membership of this commission and decide on partial changes in its composition. I anticipate that by the end of November, at the latest, I shall have before me a draft of a comprehensive amendment to the criminal code. The "reformed" commission will of course avail itself of the materials that have been prepared by the commission to date.

[Chrupkowa] Do you not consider that this commission should also concern itself with the abuses of justice which are still within the competence of another commission? It is generally accepted that the criminal boards cannot be allowed to remain in their present form. Many people have suggested that arrestable offenses should be be taken out of their jurisdiction, and all people seem to agree that there should be a right to appeal against their decisions.

[Bentkowski] The arguments you have referred to, as well as other reasons, incline one to agree that there should be one body composed of the best professional minds which should then consider the whole area of what is commonly known as criminal law. Offenses, subject to the criminal code, and minor offenses, subject to the petty offenses code, are in substance really one and the same thing. On the one side, one is dealing with an infringement of the law, and on the other side, one must ensure that the person accused should receive a fair trial, and his rights as a citizen upheld.

[Chrupkowa] You have not said anything about the reform of the civil law code.

[Bentkowski] I have not yet been able to talk with Professor Czachorski, chairman of the Civil Law Reform Commission, but hope to do so in the near future.

Civil lawyers find themselves in a much more difficult situation than the criminal lawyers. They are faced by greater problems which need solution. Despite this, I confess that I am saddened that so little has been achieved. I shall have to look into the possibility of changing the composition of this commission. In my talk with the chairman I shall no doubt learn of the various suggestions to speed up the work.

Certain urgent matters will have to be tackled piecemeal. For example, the law on companies and partnerships, which in its present form permits such aberrations as the creations of "partnerships or companies with the purpose of enfranchising property into the hands of the nomenklatura."

[Chrupkowa] In view of this, it would perhaps be easier to introduce stopgap amendments which would tackle the most important questions?

[Bentkowski] This will need to be done quickly in the area of civil law, all the more so as the following matters are currently crucial to Poland, namely, the economy, agriculture, property, and so forth. The law must not hinder the announced and essential reforms.

Turning to the criminal code, I would oppose the introduction of stopgap amendments. I am of the opinion that we must increase the tempo of our work, and, at one stroke, we have to fundamentally revise the whole of the criminal code before the end of this year.

[Chrupkowa] You must now rapidly tackle the issue of the draft legislation on the National Courts Council. We wrote on this not so long ago in RZECZPOSPOLITA, stating that if matters drifted for much longer, no judges would be available on 1 October, the day the Commercial Courts are due to open, owing to the fact that necessary legislation had not been passed.

[Bentkowski] The situation is indeed critical. Regarding the legislation, the bill will be laid before the Sejm on the 15 October, at the very latest. I believe that until the National Courts Council is called, which is a matter of about 2 months, all nomination of judges will have to be suspended. This cannot, however, apply to commercial judges. I feel that we shall have to hold consultations with the Sejm Commission on Justice, and try to convince it that the nominations for the commercial courts, which are due to open their doors on 1 October, are needed straight away. This lies in the interest of the administration of justice, the economy, and these courts themselves. The risk that undesirable judges may be hastily nominated is minimal. We are talking about highly experienced arbitrators from the State Office for Economic Arbitration [PAG]; people who have a track record in this particular area of the law, namely, commercial law. This is my proposition to break the deadlock in which we find ourselves.

[Chrupkowa] This automatically begs the question: Where will you get the necessary number of judges? I concede that judges who come from PAG will fill the positions in the commercial courts, but from 1 October one will also be able to bring complaints against the police for wrongful arrest. Throughout the year this comes to several hundred thousand cases.

[Bentkowski] Part of the solution will come from the drop in criminal cases coming before the courts anyway. This should not be confused with the number of offenses committed. We shall have to increase the number of judges, and I shall be pressing for this very strongly. I shall also be calling upon all those judges who left the profession during the martial law period, or for political, or other similarly related reasons, to return to the profession. We are also dealing with very difficult matters from the procedural aspect, and I think that the legislation being prepared on the National Courts Council will contain the appropriate provisions dealing with this.

[Chrupkowa] Several days have already elapsed from your nomination as minister of justice, and I regret to say that it seems that you do not intend to bring the Administrative Court under the umbrella of the general courts system. The National Administrative Court has the reputation of being the best court in Poland, and thus, why should you wish to cast a shadow of doubt on it in this way?

[Bentkowski] I agree with your positive assessment of this court's work. If, however, all the decisions of this court are to carry the right of appeal—something that we want to see happen in a very short period of time—then the access of the ordinary citizen to this court has to be greater than it presently is. The present structure and the location of this court does not guarantee this. This is the sole reason for my suggestion.

[Chrupkowa] You have on a number of occasions now dismissed the possibility of verification. During the examination by the Sejm Commission of Justice I was alarmed to hear opinions that the whole Supreme Court consisted of people whose views were formed in the 1960's and for this reason alone, it was necessary to completely change this court's composition. This would be most unfair. Such generalizations are unwelcome, especially as the Supreme Court has some extremely fine lawyers and judges. I would like you to say something publicly on this matter.

[Bentkowski] I believe that verification, as called for by some Sejm deputies, should not be carried out, and it will not be carried out. In the legislation amending the law on the Supreme Court the question of the reduction of the numbers of Supreme Court judges will inevitably crop up. This was discussed in the past as part of a previous project to restructure the national court system. When this legislation is introduced some people will leave and some, undoubtedly the best, will remain. This is a natural process. There remains a different problem, namely, nominating these judges. This matter has not been decided. Personally, I agree with Professor Strzembosz, who has suggested that Supreme Court judges should be nominated by the Sejm.

[Chrupkowa] In conclusion, could you tell us what was your first decision as minister?

[Bentkowski] A good one I think, because it concerned a pay increase for the very poorly remunerated judiciary.

Minister Kuron Presents Draft Program

LD2009090189 Warsaw PAP in English 2220 GMT 19 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 19—Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jacek Kuron met with home and foreign newsmen here today to discuss immediate moves and a draft programme of his ministry.

The state budget deficit amounts to some Zlotys 5 trillion, the minister stressed, briefing the newsmen on a visit paid to him today by IMF representatives who said that "the most urgent issue of today is to balance the budget and that we must cut the real wages in the first place, as no one in the world has so far managed to curb inflation without cutting real wages," Kuron said.

"Today, the point is that our wages are not always real. 'Forcing the money out' makes us feel secure only for a while. Moreover, one needs loads of extra money, for instance for bribes; to survive on this market of shortages. However, there is no system that would cut the wages subtracting precisely this extra money. Therefore, one needs moves that would fairly distribute the burdens that fell on us.

Next, Kuron discussed urgent problems, with assistance by secretary of state in the Ministry of Labour Jerzy Szreter.

Indexation

Introduction of market mechanisms into economy came as a violent shock to society, triggering off a run on pay rises. Consequently, many enterprises 'forced out' larger pay rises than those making up for the price hike. If one kept to the principles of indexation, the market would be flooded with money that would trigger off another price hike, another price shock and the situation would repeat itself. Therefore, one must convince the trade unions, the Sejm and the people about the rightness and fairness of the following government proposal.

The first indexation should be compesatory, starting with 1.0 index instead of the law-determined 0.8 index and should affect only wages that failed to compensate for the increased prices. Next, proposed is a transfer to monthly indexation payments calculated on the basis of the 0.8 index. The hike of prices and food will be fully compensated in October, to amount approximately to Zlotys 20 thousand per person.

The "equal-for-all" payments, as proposed by the OPZZ (All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) would be an economic suicide, particularly if calculated basing on the 1.0 index. Such postulates are prompted by primitive understanding of social justice. Equal payments would be as unjust as the differences in payments stemming not from different qualifications and efficiency but from the amounts that particular crews managed to extort. However, indexation cannot serve the deepening of improper payment relations," the minister continued.

General Opinions

"All functions and orders have been made a formidable mess in this country. The payments are treated as social benefit. Therefore, we hold long discussions on whether to maintain an unprofitable plant only because people work there. The same thing happens to insurence. It is, and should be of economic character.

Our task is to make the insurance system work according to the principles of economy, to make it transparent and clear—'I pay my premium and I receive my benefits for this very reason.' The state's social functions will be naturally passed down to local self-governments at some moment, and the state budget will only provide assistance for their work.

"The direction that we have taken at present has been voiced since early 60ties and even since late 50ties. Such has been the opposition's programme for a long time. The state authorities started to intercept it at some moment, saying that 'you are repeating our programme, you have no programme of your own.' Now, one can forget that introduction of market mechanisms into food (economy) was carried on by Rakowski government and, doubtlessy, it was carried at the worst moment and without any preparatory work.

"Consistency was the thing that Rakowski government lacked most. I still do not know whether we will be consistent. I can only assure you that I am not interested in being a minister, and therefore—if I am not able to do things that I hold expedient, then I will simply resign," Jacek Kuron said.

Vice Premier Janicki on Agriculture

LD2109220189 Warsaw PAP in English
2033 GMT 21 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 21—Staking on agriculture may succeed in extricating Poland from the profound economic crisis. However, this will not happen overnight, Vice-Premier and Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Food Economy, Professor Czeslaw Janicki, told newsmen during his first press conference here today.

The government is working hard on economic mechanisms which are to stimulate the transformation of industry so that it better satisfy farmers needs, said Janicki.

It is urgent so that all agricultural sectors be treated on really equal principles. So far this has been impossible to be achieved. The departure from any subsidies to agricultural production means is connected with equal treatment of all agricultural sectors.

Actions which will be taken soon are designed to break monopolies and multi-level structures in the food industry, went on he.

Asked about his strategy of the Polish agriculture development, Vice-premier Janicki said that it would not differ much from the one put forward by the former agriculture minister, Kazimierz Olesiak. All agricultural sectors must be based on reasonable economic principles. Thus there are no plans for any administrative decisions, as for instance, on the liquidation of state farms. None of the farms will be liquidated if it stands up to economic demands.

Asked about the results of fuel price rises, especially of diesel oil, Czeslaw Janicki said that they will result in a price growth of foodstuffs.

Answering a question on yesterday's statement by chairman of Solidarnosc of Private Farmers Jozef Slisz (on establishing a new party—Polish Peasants' Party PSL), Czeslaw Janicki said rural communities had not been satisfied with the to-date policy of the United Peasants' party UPP. The majority of UPP members hope that the movement will be united as PSL with a programme referring to Stanislaw Mikolajczyk's programme from 1946.

Sejm Commission on Former Economic Policies

LD2109111189 Warsaw PAP in English
2258 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 20—The assessment of the reasons for exceeding the deficit limit of the state budget was the subject of the second session of the extraordinary Sejm commission for analysing and assessing the work of the outgone government.

The commission resolved to discuss the issue side by side with the implementation of the reform and economic policy by the previous government.

Three subcommissions were appointed to deal with the decision on liquidating the Gdansk shipyard, transformations of ownership in the economy and interventions.

The commission's chairman Ryszard Bugaj (Citizens' Caucus) said that former Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, invited to the meeting, was unable to appear due to earlier appointment and said he would be represented by former Minister of Finance Andrzej Wroblewski. Former Vice-Premier Ireneusz Sekula did not respond to the extended invitation. The deputies' questions were answered in this situation by Wroblewski and former President of the national Bank of Poland Zdzislaw Pakula.

The questions concerned basic issues related to the role and tasks of the Ministry of Finance and the Central bank as well as particular decisions making up the financial policy of the state in the past months.

No univocal picture of the state's finances emerged from the discussion. The explanations given to the deputies revealed the mechanism of numerous, interdependencies and objective or subjective necessities, interlinked areas of competence, the pressure of the then financial situation of the state, lingering habits and working methods.

The commission has not reached any conclusion so far, Bugaj told newsmen after the meeting. "The former Premier Rakowski's letter told us that the government economic committee (KERM) was responsible in the government for the economic policy and reform. The Ministry of Finance, the national Bank of Poland and the chief board of supervision prepared many reports on our request," Bugaj said.

"The report by the supervision board is particularly critical about the policy of the former government. Its many theses allow us to say today that the critical assessment of the former government that we made at beginning of this Sejm term is well justified," concluded he.

Urban Comments on Mazowiecki Government

AU2609233089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23-24 Sep 89 p 3

[Jerzy Urban commentary: "Cold Shower"]

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki told the Sejm and nation that the chief immediate economic task of the government he is forming is to halt inflation. The government's first plan, announced several days after the new premier's death threat to inflation, calls for an increase in the compensation payable to offset the rise in the cost of living index. Working people will receive not the 80-percent compensation that had been decided before, but 100-percent compensation. What is more, this compensation will be payable not every quarter, but every month. So, first we hear a desire to halt inflation, and then we witness a move that can increase it.

The compensation will be paid after the deduction of wage bonuses which workers received previously for other reasons. This will cause a gigantic leveling-out of wages. The incentives that encouraged workers to work harder will disappear. Those who earn more as a result of better initiative or greater productivity will lose these bonuses when the compensation is worked out. Those too lazy to lift a finger at work will receive the same as those who work hard. Therefore, this whole idea is blocking the process of economic reform that was started with such difficulty. After all, the premier promised a radicalization of this process. The 100-percent compensation will not only make workers less concerned about increasing their productivity, it will mean that the money for the extra compensation will be provided by price increases. These will automatically push wages up, and the result will be a self-perpetuating hyperinflation. Therefore, 100-percent compensation brings no economic advantages whatsoever.

This move has been announced as a temporary one, until the end of the year. However, no one in Poland has succeeded in depriving anyone of previously-granted privileges. Ending the 100-percent compensation for wage increases will be more difficult than asking every worker to cut his leg off.

In his Sejm speech, Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that temporary sacrifices are essential; in other words, the cost of living must fall temporarily so that it can increase later in line with economic growth. In the premier's own words, granting the population 100-percent compensation means flowing with the current of social opinion, and not against it. It would seem that it is necessary to protect the Mazowiecki government against the effects of its own moves.

Because of its novelty, the Mazowiecki government enjoys great social support. However, it is faced with a dilemma. Should it make moves that are economically rational, even if they mean a fall in popularity and an increase in society's fears, or should it indulge in politics in order to preserve this popularity and transform the economy gradually and with hesitation? Previous governments were faced with the same dilemma.

The choice of action is dramatic. If the government fails to make economically sensible moves boldly and rapidly, the economic situation will not improve and the government will lose its support—eventually! If the government immediately makes moves that are economically sensible but socially painful, it will lose its support immediately. Without this support, radical reforms will be impossible because society will oppose them. Either way, the situation is bleak. A harsh economic policy that clashes with the short-term interests of a major part of society reduces the possibility of carrying on this policy in future, unless of course democracy is suspended and a rule of force is introduced, with the sending in of Motorized Citizens Militia Units [ZOMO] to deal with strikers.

A mild economic policy, in other words a submission to pressure from various social groups, will not bring economic success and will cause increased Western support, with the result that the government and its policies will collapse. The final result might even be a sharp breakout of social unrest and the appearance of new political forces on the scene, headed by some strongman, dictator, or—savior.

Therefore the Mazowiecki government is troubled by the same dilemma as the Messner and Rakowski governments were. Each cabinet has to steer a middle course—as many economically essential moves as society is able to tolerate, coupled with compensation for the effects of those moves that cause the greatest economic burden. The problem is where to draw the line between what is essential and what is possible, and where to locate the fulcrum between the two.

The Messner government was cautious and inconsistent, its moves were less than half-hearted. The Rakowski government, on the other hand, tried to change the economic pattern quickly and with determination. It collapsed not just because of political events. It was swept away by a growing tide of strikes, caused mainly by the fact that the fruits of its economic policy would only

be visible in 2 years time, whereas the economic difficulties were increasing immediately.

The introduction of free market prices of food was the death knell for Rakowski and Sekula [Ireneusz Sekula, chairman of the Council of Ministers Economic Committee]. This move was made only because the Rakowski government had nothing more to lose. It then allowed its successor to clean up the mess. Some people claim that the Rakowski government introduced free market prices too late; others say these prices came too early, because the operation had not been prepared properly. Whatever people say, the Mazowiecki government would not dare to increase meat prices by several hundred percent at one go, because it would immediately destroy the social support that constitutes its political capital.

The 100-percent compensation for increased living costs might mean that Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government wants to grab hold of its political capital, so that it does not dissolve so fast. That is a bad omen.

Mazowiecki enjoys great social support today, apart from which his cabinet is governed by a political balance which neither "Solidarity," nor the Polish United Workers Party, nor the United Peasant Party, nor the Democratic Party want to upset, as each of them would suffer if they did. If the government fails to take advantage of the present situation, which is estimated to last 6 months, and implement fundamental but harsh reforms, it is very unlikely to do so later, when society's disappointment sets in and the credit of confidence granted by society is exhausted.

The economically lethal decision to offer 100-percent compensation every month arouses the suspicion that the Mazowiecki government wants to protect its popularity at the expense of economic rationality. If it is so afraid of social moods, it will not strengthen the economy and, in the end, it will not strengthen itself.

In the economic sphere, the government program announced by Tadeusz Mazowiecki makes good sense. But the idea of 100-percent compensation for the increased cost of living comes as a cold shower, the first one. In Poland, who says something is becoming less important than who does something. This rule is also beginning to apply to the former opposition—an outspoken political group that is losing its audience just like other groups did.

Rakowski Addresses Militant Miners in Sosnowiec

AU2609143789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Sep 89 pp 1, 2

[Marek Szymanski report: "Any Attack on Your Factory Committee Is an Attack on the Party"]

[Text] My loyalty to the coalition forces me to report in the columns of TRYBUNA LUDU that one more problem has been added to the list of the many problems Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki has to solve. The problem is the "Kazimierz-Juliusz" coalmine in Sosnowiec, where the work force is divided, the supervisory personnel are in a state of fear, the manager has been insulted without reason, the premises of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] committee have been closed, and an anarchic provisional "Solidarity" committee is publicly insulting the Polish president.

A "disaffected" activist called Marek Januszko has not only assumed authority over the coalmine; he also completely ignores everyone and everything, saying that a "Solidarity" government and "Solidarity" premier are there to listen to him, because what he fought for has materialized at last (!)

What is worse, everything indicates that the situation in the "Kazimierz-Juliusz" mine is merely an "experiment" to see whether something similar might be applied elsewhere.

On Wednesday 20 September, at the coalmine's Ideological Education Center, there was a meeting of PZPR aktivs and aktivists from the workers councils, trade unions, and Union of Polish Socialist Youth. Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, and Manfred Gorywoda, Politburo member and first secretary of the Katowice PZPR Committee, attended. The meeting discussed the situation and ways of resolving it. Here are the main points of the debate:

—A few dozen anarchist rowdies have succeeded in dominating and even terrorizing the entire work force, its supervisors, trade union, and workers council, just because comrades from these organizations and party members were unable to put up a united front of opposition to demagogy and hysteria;

—It has to be admitted that "Solidarity" has found an easy way of inciting people by indicating frequent cases of arrogance and incompetence, even by party members. However, all this is second-hand knowledge. Repeating it is nothing other than an attack on the party. The intention behind it is not to make things inside the party better, but worse.

—Therefore, the situation at hand must not cause a decline in party energy. On the contrary, if we are to survive we must stick together and strengthen our activity among people and for people. Even small steps can lead to bigger steps later. Despite everything, people are more likely to believe in the party than in those who are trying to expel it from the coalmine.

At the end of the meeting, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, PZPR first secretary, delivered a short speech.

"We will fight, and we must fight," he said. "How? By speaking at every single rally organized by the adversary. If they whistle down one of our people and prevent him from speaking, let his place be taken by a second man, and then a third, and then a fourth.

"The opposition must realize our real strength. We have been forced to react loudly. Why have the party organizations of Sosnowiec, convinced that the 'Solidarity' committee in the 'Kazimerz-Juliusz' mine is acting unlawfully and that this is an experiment in attacking the entire party, not sent a protest to Premier Mazowiecki and Lech Walesa? Why have they not organized counterdemonstrations, with the slogan 'We Will Not Let Ourselves Be Thrown Out'? Do we lack the strength?

"I promise you, comrades, that we will quickly prepare an official statement by the party leadership addressed to the 'Solidarity' authorities. Any attack on your party committee is an attack on the entire party, that same party with which 'Solidarity' agreed to form a coalition government and be jointly responsible for what is happening in the country.

"The issue may be discussed in future. A further subject of discussion may be the existence of trade unions, social organizations, and 'Solidarity' inside workplaces. As for 'Solidarity', we ought to know whether it is a party, a trade union, or a political movement. But as long as there is no Political Parties Act, party cells in work places must not be tampered with. None of our primary party organizations or factory committees are forcing anyone to strike, disrupting production, keeping people away from their jobs, and encouraging anarchy and violations of the law."

OPZZ Not To Send Reps to PZPR Commission

LD2609193489 Warsaw PAP in English 1825 GMT 26 Sep 89

["OPZZ Refuses to Join PUWP Congress Commission" —PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 26—The press office of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) conveyed the following statement by the secretariat of the OPZZ Executive Committee to PAP:

The 15th Polish United Workers Party Central Committee [PUWP CC] plenum decided that representatives of trade unions affiliated in the OPZZ who are PUWP members are to be appointed by the OPZZ Executive Committee to become members of the PUWP Congress Central Commission.

The secretariat of the OPZZ Executive Committee states that:

—We were not informed about such a proposal,

—So far, the OPZZ has not practised the delegating of its representatives to work in congress commissions of any parties or political groupings,

—The trade unions affiliated in the OPZZ are an independent movement and the trade unionists' membership in any parties or political groupings is their personal business.

In this connection, the secretariat of the OPZZ Executive Committee states that the OPZZ will not appoint its representatives to take part in the work of the PUWP Central Congress Commission.

The secretariat of the OPZZ Executive Commitee leaves it to be decided individually by trade unionists who are party members whether they are going to take part in the work of the PUWP Congress Commissions on various levels.

Miodowicz Addresses OPZZ Grassroots Members

AU2609174589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23-24 Sep 89 p 2

[Report by Ryszard Zatorski: "Miodowicz Answers Unionists' Questions"]

[Excerpts] On Friday (22 September), Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ], met south-eastern region (Krosno, Przemysl, Rzeszow, Tarnobrzeg) trade union representatives in Rzeszow. He described the whole range of actions being taken by the OPZZ leadership and referred to Thursday's (21 September) meeting with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

One of the questions asked was: "Why were the leaderships of both unions, the OPZZ and 'Solidarity,' not present at the meeting?"

[Miodowicz] "It was a very good thing that they were not. That is why we had a business-like conversation. We found that there were many points on which we could reach agreement. It is rather a bitter source of satisfaction, but Deputy Premier Balcerowicz admitted that the current concept of indexation (which was, after all, endorsed by 'Solidarity') is disastrous for the economy and for the population. Mr Mazowiecki's government cannot be blamed for that, because the problems that are accumulating now are the product of what happened in past years.

"That is what happened with the free market, for example. It was the right decision, but it was executed rashly, arbitrarily, and without preparing appropriate food stocks, without the deregulation of the food economy, and without identifying what possibilities there were for controlling free market prices. The effect of this today is that no one can exercise control over an unstable market and there is even a danger of a 'rupture' between town and country. This could have terrible consequences."

Alfred Miodowicz stressed: "The government is sitting on a time bomb in the form of indexation, although when Trzeciakowski and Baka signed an agreement on this at the 'roundtable' and we, as the third force, raised objections, no one imagined that a 'Solidarity' government would have to tackle the consequences.

"We are still in favor of amending the law on indexation and we will submit proposals. If nothing is done, money that is generated not by work, but by a higher cost of living will cause hyperinflation and greater poverty among the poorest families." [passage omitted]

The OPZZ chairman said: "We are against selling national assets into private hands. It would be completely wrong if, for example, foreign capital was to buy up land, forests, and waters. We are against the introduction of unemployment; it may hit older people who have worked hard and are close to retirement first.

"There was a rapid succession of events following the 10th Central Committee plenum. It was a mistake to introduce union pluralism without political and party pluralism. Our unions in the OPZZ grew more radical and demands were stepped up. That is how they will continue to behave. With the interests of the employee in mind, they behaved as an opposition toward past governments and will do so with respect to future governments. That is why we are seeking to depoliticize the unions.

"However, without being present in the National Assembly and visible in the political arena, our unions could wither away. That is why it is imperative that we create a political infrastructure, bring together the left in a front of working people or, as Jacek Stepien put it, employee citizens' committees."

Alfred Miodowicz said: "About 80 percent of Polish United Workers Party members belong to OPZZ unions. Party members should be recognized, and efforts should be made to work in conjunction with primary party organizations, because the party is, above all, its grass roots organizations. Conditions and opportunities for cooperation with 'Solidarity' trade unionists also exist."

During the discussion it was said that "Solidarity" as a union actually already exists in the workplace and that this is not the same thing as the national executive commission in Gdansk, that is, the leadership of the political movement that "Solidarity" in reality is and which now has pretensions to the role of a super party. [passage omitted]

Leaders' Public Appearances 13-19 Sep

AU2609232389

[Editorial report] TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 14 through 20 September reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date and page of each report given in parentheses):

Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki attended the funeral of Prof Stefan Nowak in Warsaw on 13 September. (14 Sep 89 p 2) He received Jan Kinast, Polish ambassador to the United States, on 15 September. (16-17 Sep 89 p 2)

Leszek Miller, Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended a PZPR voviodship plenum in Bydgoszcz. (date not given) (15 Sep 89 p 3) He attended a PZPR vovoivodship plenum in Torun on 14 September. (15 Sep 89 p 3)

Florian Siwicki, PZPR Politburo member and minister of national defense, received a group of Polish Army veterans at the Polish Armed Forces Museum in Warsaw on 15 September. (16-17 Sep 89 p 2)

Romanian, USSR Youth Groups Meet

AU2209185789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 22 Sep 89

["Meeting of Friendship of Romanian and Soviet Youth"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 22/9/1989—On September 22 Bucharest hosted a meeting of friendship occasioned by a friendly get-together in Romania of representatives of the youth in Romania and the Soviet Union.

During the meeting the floor was taken by Ioan Toma, first secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth], and Viktor Mironenko, first secretary of the CC of the LYCL [All-Union Komsomol].

The sides pointed out the good relations of friendship and collaboration extant between the youth and the revolutionary organizations of the youth in the two countries, and presented the main ways of action of the UCY and the LYCL in point of implementing the resolutions of the 13th Congress of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, respectively.

Expressing the concern of the youth in the two countries over the grave and complex problems of the international life, the sides set forth the particularly important role incumbent on the young generation and its organizations in point of finding just and lasting solutions with a view to building a world of peace, security, understanding and collaboration.

Participating was Y.M. Tyazhelnikov, Bucharest ambassador of the Soviet Union.

At the conclusion of the meeting a show was performed by young soloists and groups of the two countries.

Official Says Romania Blamed as 'Scapegoat'

AU2609141289 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 26 Sep 89 p 8

[Christoph Marschall report: "Senior Official From the Romanian Foreign Ministry: We Do Not Want To Be the Scapegoat"]

[Text] Bucharest, 25 September—A senior official from the Romanian Foreign Ministry has indirectly admitted that the international isolation of his country resulting from its negative attitude toward human rights issues and toward reports on the destruction of villages, known as "systematization," have led to a certain thoughtfulness among the government. Constantin Girbea, head of the press office, told German journalists that Bucharest has not changed its policy, but that the interests of other countries have apparently changed. "We did not close the windows and doors," he pointed out. It is apparently in line with the current political trend to point to Romania as a "scapegoat."

The EC stopped talks on an agreement "not so much because of economic reasons, but rather for political reasons," the Foreign Ministry spokesman continued. "It would be a pity if we were neglected," Girbea stressed, referring to intensified contacts between the West and the reform-oriented East bloc countries. Relations with Bonn are "normal," but he has noted "reservation on the part of Bonn, particularly concerning political contacts." Asked about the reasons, the expert on Germany stated he did not want to "indulge in speculations and interpretations." The claim, which he vehemently repeated several times, that Romania would not bow to foreign pressure, particularly in view of the fact that Bucharest has paid back all its foreign debts and is "for the first time no longer tributary to the West," seemed to confirm the opposite.

Replying to a question about the order of diplomatic relations, he hinted evasively that East Berlin had become the most important ally. The GDR will probably assume Poland's place this year as Romania's most important foreign trade partner.

Girbea regretted the fact that "Romania's pioneering role in many areas" is no longer appreciated in the West. Bucharest was the first country to establish diplomatic relations with Bonn in 1967 against the political pressure of the Warsaw Pact, and the first state to unilaterally reduce military spending in November 1986. Girbea agreed to the theory that Romania has also lost its former significance because the West has now improved relations with the Soviet Union where there are reformers who are ready to talk.

Girbea accused the governments of other Eastern European states of insincerity. Unlike Moscow and East Berlin, Bucharest has never been afraid to admit that a socialist state can also be a developing country. "We have made great efforts to overcome this level." Girbea leveled the same accusation in connection with the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna in the spring of 1989, which was devoted to human rights issues. Romania only signed the final document after considerable opposition, adding immediately that it does not feel bound by part of the agreements. "We were the only ones who had the courage to express their doubts and to state in a honest manner that we cannot observe certain agreements." Bucharest does not expect "applause in this game of ideological intrigues," but does not want to be the "scapegoat" either. Romania is placing the human rights issue "on a broad basis," Girbea pointed out. There are countries that want to "reduce human rights to the freedom of movement." Romania does not consider itself to be a country of emigration. Despite this fact, 300,000 ethnic Germans, 400,000 Jews, and 200,000 Romanians were allowed to emigrate legally during the past few years. However, Romania's goal is "to create

living conditions that allow people remain in the country." Apart from that, the CSCE baskets of security and economic cooperation are as important as human rights, Girbera stressed.

PEC Endorses Results of Najibullah's Visit

AU2309151989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1008 GMT 23 Sep 89

["High Appreciation of the Romanian-Afghan Summit Dialogue" —AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 23/9/1989—The Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] that met on 22 September was given an account of the working visit paid to Romania by President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan.

The Executive Political Committee stressed the significance of the meeting and talks between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Najibullah which, by their results, are a landmark in the development of the relations between Romania and Afghanistan, bilaterally and internationally. In that respect, the importance was underlined of an agreement made during the talks, namely that the two governments should work out specific programmes for the growth of cooperation in the economy, technology, science and other areas in the period ahead.

The Executive Political Committee assessed highly President Nicolae Ceausescu's presentation of Romania's principled position on the situation in Afghanistan, underscoring the demand for a peaceful negotiated settlement of the problems in that country, for the achievement of national unity, for rallying together all the forces and social segments, all Afghan people. In that framework it was shown that an early calling of a national reconciliation conference and an end to fighting would be highly important for the passage to a programme that would be in the interest of the Afghan people ensuring socioeconomic development and national sovereignty and independence. Furthermore, action was shown to be needed for putting the conditions in place so that the Afghan people be able to solve its problems democratically and independently, free from outside interference.

The Executive Political Committee highlighted the significance of the two heads of state's exchange of views on international matters, especially on the achievement of disarmament, the eradication of underdevelopment and the building of a new world economic order, the ensurance of a durable world peace.

Approving the results of President Nicolae Ceausescu's meeting with President Najibullah, the Executive Political Committee urged the government, the ministries, the other central institutions to take the necessary steps for the fulfillment of the understandings that were agreed upon during the visit, which open up new prospects for a growing cooperation between Romania and Afghanistan in many areas, in the interests of the peoples in the two countries, of the cause of international cooperation and understanding.

Giosan Receives Palestinian Official

AU2509193289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1803 GMT 25 Sep 89

["Romanian-Palestinian Parliamentary Talks"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 25/9/1989—On Monday, September 25, the chairman of the Grand National Assembly, Nicolae Giosan, received Khalid al-Hasan, chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Palestine National Council, chairman of the Palestinian group in the Interparliamentary Union, now on a visit in Romania.

Emphasis was placed on the continuously upward course of the Romanian-Palestinian relations of friendship, on the decisive role of the summit meetings and talks in expanding those relations. Stress was also laid on the contribution parliaments and parliamentarians, parliamentary groups can make to a favorable course of the settlement of the questions in the Middle East and to the instauration [as received] of a just peace in that area, to the promotion of a climate of understanding and cooperation among all world nations.

The interview was attended by Marin Ivascu, vice-chairman of the Grand National Assembly, chairman of the Romanian group in the Interparliamentary Union.

Daily Views 'Leading Role of Party'

AU2309173889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1500 GMT 23 Sep 89

["Growing Leading Role of the Party - a Law of Development of the New Society - Article Run by 23 September SCINTEIA"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 2/9/1989—The Communist Party's place in the political and social system is an outcome of an objective evolution, of historical developments, of the fight for the Romanian people's social and national liberation, for the safeguarding and promotion of the nation's vital interests, for the building and continual improvement of the new society. Without a powerful revolutionary party, closely and permanently linked to the people, well-organized, united by ideology and a programme, neither could political power be won in the initial stage of the revolutionary process nor could the new social system be built in good conditions and be raised to higher stages.

The deep-going changes Romania has ever known are directly linked to the activity of the Communist Party as leading political force, as a ruling party and a vital centre of the nation.

In the revolutionary process in Romania, the Ninth Party Congress ushered in a new historical era not only through the renewing outlook on the role of revolutionary theory and the enrichment of the revolutionary socialist theory but also through the new, broadly perspective conception of building the new system.

Earning the working people's esteem, confidence and valuation owing to its scientific policy and attachment to the ideals of equality, freedom and development, the Communist Party has reasserted its place in the political system and in society as a faithful exponent of the people's aspirations and will. The theses for the 14th Congress bring strong arguments to the lack of thoroughness in the theories lately circulated in the sociopolitical literature abroad about the so-called diminution of the party's leading role, theories which are meant to deprive society of the most conscious, the most advanced political force, armed with a scientific conception about world and life, able to organize and unite all the forces of the nation. The experience of socialist constrution has tellingly proved that only if the Communist Party fulfilled its mandate of leading political power in society and took persevering action to ensure the decisive role of socialist ownership over the means of production, for the development of the people's property and the cooperative property, for the improvement of the forms in which worker collectivities administrate the national wealth and lead socioeconomic processes in society can the general goals of building the new system be attained.

In the present development stage of our socialist society and in the future, for a long historical period, the Communist Party's growing role of leading political force, of vital centre of the nation is an objective, law-like tendency, a basic line in the development of the political system, in the improvement of management, organization and planning of the socioeconomic activity, in the deepening of the socialist democracy. It is not by accident that circles hostile to socialism work today as they used to do in the past, under the apparently democratic slogan of founding several parties, to liquidate the Communist Parties, to undermine and destabilize socialist countries. "If the Communist Party no longer assumes the responsibility for the implementation of its revolutionary programme," Nicolae Ceausescu showed, "then the question arises whether the party is necessary and what is its role? The void left by the party will produce a vacuum in the political and social life that other forces will undoubtedly fill." The proper fulfillment of the party's leading role in all fields of activity now and in the future is a prerequisite of the successful building of socialism. This requires the party to a continually strengthen its links with the masses, to debate the major decisions with the whole party and the whole people, to maintain and consolidate of the party's worker, revolutionary and class character giving the workers an increasing share in the party and promoting them to responsible posts in party organizations and organs.

Given the party's position in society, in each historical stage it should show a steady concern to thoroughly analyze facts in relation to the acquired experience, to the peculiarities of each stage and pave the way for a new thinking in policy-making, efficiently eliminate what is old and obsolete, carry out an intense educational work.

The improvement of the Communist Party's leading role and the deepening of democracy in socialism require the consolidation of the people's effective participation in the exercise of political power. This continual improvement of the forms taken by the party's leading role has certainly nothing to do with the bourgeois political competition, with the electoral confrontations characteristic of the political systems in the capitalist countries. Considering the deep-going economic and class changes in the socialist society, the unity of basic interests of social classes and categories, to renew such competitive practices of the capitalist type in the political life would mean to give the forces hostile to socialism the possibility to take action. It is only when the Communist Party leads the processes of economic and sociopolitical management, strengthens its political, ideologic and organizational role in society that the socialist social relations, the socialist democracy develop and improve.

In our society, the growing role of the Romanian Communist Party is an objective requirement given its direct responsibility in the implementation of the more and more complex tasks in the higher stage of the multilaterally developed socialist society, the demands of Romania's socioeconomic development, outlined in the theses and master programme for the 14th congress.

Ceausescu Cites Shortcomings in Meeting Goals

AU2609153889 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Sep 89 p 1

["From Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Conclusions at the Meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee on 22 September 1989" in Bucharest]

[Text] I think we should begin our discussions with the plan fulfillment this month. One can say that, on the whole, positive results have been achieved. Despite this, when examining the situation of the first 20 days of September, we must say that there are certain arrears in some areas—I am referring particularly to exports, investments, and also to other areas. Thus results fall short of plan provisions and are not up to the material and human possibilities available in our national economy.

Specifically, I want to dwell on the problem linked to the plan fulfillment and the export production. I have been informed that all counties have received their orders for products earmarked for export. However, from what has been said here we gather that not all things are very clear. The government, together with the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the productive ministries, and with the first secretaries of the county party committees have to meet

to clarify all problems—linked to both the material base, production capacities, and other areas—so as to ensure that by the end of the month the export plan for September will be fulfilled in accordance with plan provisions, and so that further action can be taken to ensure that export contracts for October and the whole fourth quarter are being honored under the bext of conditions.

As far as investments are concerned, serious shortfalls can be noted both in industrial and in housing construction. Actually, our achievements in construction-assembly fall short of those last year. We have to thoroughly examine the causes of these shortfalls. Discipline and order in constructions have weakened. Therefore, investments have to be revised and measures have to be taken to ensure the construction and putting into operation of all planned production capacities.

As far as the plan for the fourth quarter is concerned, it stipulates the achievement of an industrial commodity production worth 405 billion lei; this is an important increase compared with 1988. As a matter of fact, in the fourth quarter our food industry outputs will increase by a few billion compared with plan provisions. Important increases are also envisaged by the other ministries. Generally speaking, however, the plan provisions have to be viewed as minimal. Firm action is needed to fulfill all plan indicators by paying special attention to quality and the technical standard of products, to exports, and to increasing the economic efficiency.

All problems have been clarified, including the problem of the material base. Therefore, we have everything available that is needed to ensure the commendable fulfillment of the plan for the fourth quarter and for the whole year.

As far as the self-management and self-sufficiency program is concerned, it reflects our party's and state's constant concern with ensuring proper supplies for the people and constantly inmproving the standard of living of the whole nation—the supreme goal of the party and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society. The program provisions are part and parcel of the measures aimed at perfecting the organizational framework and management of activities in industry and agriculture, and aimed at rationally utilizing resources and judiciously distributing the commodity stocks throughout the country.

The quantities stipulated in the program for self-management and self-supply for the fourth quarter ensure important increases in both foodstuffs and other produce compared with the same period last year.

I want to draw attention to the question of meat. Animals—cattle, pigs, sheep, and poultry—that are to be slaughtered ensure, if they meet planned weights, the meat production stipulated in the self-sufficiency program. According to the provisions of the law, exceeding planned weights means more meat, of which 50 percent stays in the given county. Nonfulfillment of slaughtering weights, of course, means less meat. However, the animals we have ensure the quantities stipulated in the self-sufficiency program. Therefore, conditions prevail to ensure proper supplies of more than 80 kg of meat and meat products per capita yearly.

It depends on each county to properly manage and ensure the planned quantities! Each county has to take measures to ensure the fattening of animals in order to achieve the planned slaughtering weight.

This is the situation in all branches of the food industry. Actually, an increase has been noted in all sectors. The provisions for all products for the fourth quarter will lead almost to doubling of consumption and in some cases even more only on the basis of what we have available.

This important increase in agricultural produce and foodstuffs is the result of large outputs with all agricultural produce. Therefore, we have to take all necessary measures to ensure the implementation of all plan provisions, and the delivery and proper storage of all products next year. At the same time, we have to formulate the 1990 self-sufficiency program by 10 October.

Also in connection with the problem of implementing the self-sufficiency programs, I would like to draw attention to the need to properly organize the sale and judicious management of all produce in all counties and especially in Bucharest. This year Bucharest was provided with 21,000 tonnes of meat and meat products each month and there should actually be no problem.

Therefore, once again I want to point out to all comrades, especially those in Bucharest, that, taking account of the products available, we should have excellent supplies; not good, but a very good ones from all viewpoints.

I would like to briefly mention some of the problems in agriculture, the party secretary general continued.

The fall harvesting campaign proceeds very slowly. Progress in the harvesting of corn is very slow, although—including the three counties I visited recently in the north of our country—I have noted that corn is ripe enough to be harvested. A general mobilization is needed so that corn harvesting will be completed by 1 October.

We must also harvest sugar beet in accordance with our schedule and we must ensure the proper operation of factories. In counties with sugar factories—which have also machine-building enterprises available—maintenance and repair collectives must be set up and measures have to be taken to ensure a profitability of at least 14 percent in sugar extraction.

As for potatoes with which we have also achieved very large yields, we have to take all necessary measures, so that we will complete their harvesting and storage by 1 October at the latest.

Referring to the tasks resting on agricultural workers to harvest vegetables, fruits, grapes, and other fall crops such as rice, cotton, castor-oil plant, poppies, chicory, and chick peas under favorable conditions, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu specified that the crops in the fields are much larger than estimates and they have to reflect in the reports of agricultural units.

As far as the situation in the animal breeding sector is concerned, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu continued, we must pay special attention to the harvesting and storage of fodder. In the recently visited counties, as well as in other counties, I noted that there is still a lot of straw, as well as other vegetable remnants in fields. Everything has to be harvested and properly stored in order to ensure a good fodder base! Greater attention has to be paid to implementing the programs for increasing our livestock. This is a very important task and has to be understood very well by all of you!

The Ministry of Agriculture, the county committees, and the party and state bodies have to take all necessary measures, by mobilizing all material and human forces, to speed up the sowing rate, so that the sowing of barley and wheat in hilly areas will be completed by 1 October and in other areas by 10 October, that sowing operations are of good quality, and that special attention is paid to the density of plants. Next year, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized, we should not have any barley and wheat of less than 800 ears per square meter. Only in this way will we achieve more than 9-tonne yields per hectare!

As far as the program for ensuring the energy production, for rationally making use of electrical and thermal energy, and of natural gases, as well as the work system of economic units and social establishments in the 1989-90 winter is concerned, there are certain improvements in both electrical and thermal energy thus ensuring increased supplies for the market stocks and for the people. Certain improvements have been made in the distribution of thermal energy, in the sense of increasing the hours, which, in principle, stay as they are with some small amendments considering that last year we improved things seriously.

In connection with the visits I paid to Iasi, Suceava, and Botosani counties, all of you have listened to the radio, watched television, and read in the press about them. However, I want to draw attention to certain things.

Certainly, on the whole these visits were very positive. Both the party organizations and the working people are working properly to implement the plan provisions in all areas. However—in connection with some fields of activity—I want to emphasize that I noted that not all three counties apply program provisions and our country's laws as they should.

First of all, I will talk about industry and the machine-building sector, to begin with. Both in Iasi and Suceava, I noted that existing facilities are not used to full capacity. The Iasi heavy equipment plant does not work to full capacity, including the steel production. In practical terms, the Machine-Building Ministry and the county committee have not paid attention to the commendable use of available productive capacities, although we invested a lot here and built a enterprise with good and modern equipment. The same can be said about the other two enterprises in Suceava—the older one, namely the machine-tools factory, which is also not working to full capacity, and the bearings factory, which was commissioned late and which is actually operating at a third of its capacity. We were also confronted with similar situations in Botosani, as well.

Likewise, a lot of money is being spent in excess of plan provisions. The ministries, financial bodies, and the banks that finance these expenditures are actually violating the law, since they are financing uneconomical activities.

I draw the attention of all those present at the meeting, the economy cadres, and the first secretaries that we must take all necessary steps to make order in the activity of solving all these problems and performing the entire activity! As I have already said, the visits I paid to these three counties made me aware of the fact that the decisions of the Political Executive Committee [PEC] and the Central Committee and the law provisions are not being appropriately implemented everywhere. Therefore, we should put order in this sphere and instill a spirit of responsibility and discipline in the activity of all sectors; existing facilities should be used to full capacity, the planned production should be fulfilled on schedule, and legal provisions should be observed in all fields! We must reduce expenditures, as they adversely affect production costs! We must eliminate our high costs, waste, and losses in production! I repeat, the Ministry of Finance and the banks should take their duties seriously! The same applies to the State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Supply! One should no longer leave things at random!

Now, I would like to turn to certain problems concerning the 14th Party Congress.

Of course, the party elections are generally proceeding in a good atmosphere; results are good. However, my impression is that certain counties are trying to hurry over the stage of elections in basic organizations. According to some information received, this haste has led to certain meetings not having been properly prepared. At such a fast pace, one does not and cannot ensure instruction from and the participation of higher bodies in such meetings. Both the county secretaries and the first secretaries should participate in the meetings held in important enterprises—not only at the level of committee meetings, but also in the meetings of basic organizations.

I draw attention to the need to re-examine the organization of meetings and discussions. Especially in the current circumstances, general meetings should turn into a high school of revolutionary, patriotic, and communist education.

There is no doubt that the party meetings should examine problems connected with plan provisions, the fulfillment of socioeconomic programs, and other issues concerning the behavior and role of communists in the life of a given enterprise and in social life, in general. We must examine the role of Communists in the political-educational activity of raising overall revolutionary awareness. Especially party meetings should be characterized by a firm attitude toward various occurrences, including those connected with infringement of the principles of social ethics and equity, and by a combative attitude in ensuring the observation and implementation of the principles specific to our society; party meetings must adopt a firm position against various negative states of affairs, such as theft, embezzlement, and so forth.

The meetings of basic organizations should be used as an opportunity for a thorough analysis of the entire activity. More attention should be paid to political-educational problems of raising the revolutionary spirit of combativity! All this should be done by considering concrete, not general, issues, including extant negative states of affairs in the sectors where each party organization is carrying out its activity!

I repeat, electoral meetings should be a high school of political education, a high school of the revolutionary workers democracy and of strengthening the party's ties with the masses of working people!

Therefore, the party secretary general further said, I believe that one should not rush the development of electoral meetings. Each situation should be examined and prepared thoroughly, by ensuring a good participation of the higher bodies in all meetings of basic organizations.

Accordingly, party elections should be covered by the county party press, which must report on the progress of elections and on the problems under discussion, in connection with the congress documents, particularly with the program-directives and the theses. One should pay special attention to the discussion of ideas included in the 14th Congress Theses, because they are closely linked to firm stands that have to be adopted on ideological issues and to the ways of action and thinking of each party member and citizen.

I would like to emphasize, the party secretary general said, that these very important problems are not being appropriately covered by the central press, radio, and television. The party press, radio, and television must reflect, on a daily basis, the ongoing discussions within party organizations. Neither SCINTEIA nor the radio and television, and, as far as I know, nor the county press devote sufficient space to the course of elections within party organizations.

One should accordingly draw appropriate conclusions for all other problems connected with the forthcoming congress.

We should draw up and finalize the programs for the socioeconomic development of towns and communes. In this respect, one should bear in mind that the programs for communes should be discussed in the respective communes, with the local party committee and people's council and with the managements of all economic organizations in a given commune, such as the cooperative, the state agricultural enterprise, the school, and each industrial and trade enterprise. All these bodies should participate in working out the commune's socioeconomic development program and should submit it to the discussion of all citizens. The same thing applies to towns and particularly to counties.

Consequently, the commune and town plans should be worked out and discussed with all inhabitants of a given locality! One cannot do this in a few days. Our goals are quite ambitious, and we will have to continue working on these plans after the congress, as well; however, the least we can do is to work out, in a responsible spirit, a first draft of these plans by the end of next October, proceeding from each locality's realities and socioeconomic development requirements.

Therefore, a commune's development plan should cover all problems and should reflect the entire activity and various proposals of its inhabitants. As a matter of fact, the communes and counties should advance more proposals than stipulated. Hence, we should mobilize efforts and take serious steps along these lines. We do not need formal plans! Our management cadres should also participate in drafting and discussing the plans for the first communes, that is cadres from the Central Committee, and secretaries of the party Central Committee.

My point was to emphasize these requirements in connection with problems related to preparations for the party congress. Only thus will we welcome the congress with good results. I repeat, aside from economic problems, one should give priority to raising the level of revolutionary combativity and spirit and one should take a firm stand against any kind of negative manifestation! Let us take further steps to eliminate negative occurrences.

As I said at the plenum and as the theses and program-directives provide for, we should raise the party's revolutionary spirit. Let us resolutely work in this spirit!

The elections and the congress preparations should lead to a radical change in the working style. Let us move the center of party activity amidst the broad masses, that is, to factories, communes, cooperatives, educational and research units, amidst the workers, peasants, and all those who ensure the fulfillment of the party policy.

The preparations for the congress should bring about a radical change in the working style and methods of the party and of all our state and revolutionary workers democracy bodies; these preparations should strengthen the party's ties with the masses, the working people, and the whole nation and should increase the leading role of the party as a political factor in all spheres of activity.

Referring to certain international problems, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu then presented some of the latest initiatives and actions of our party and country in favor of defending and strengthening socialism and the interests of socialism, of socialist countries, and of the communist and workers movement in general.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized that our party and people take firm action to implement the policy of disarmament, understanding, and security in Europe and in the world and to consistently promote a policy of wide cooperation with socialist countries, with developing countries, developed capitalist countries, and with all the other countries in the world, regardless of social system, by firmly basing all these relations on the principles of complete equality of rights, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage. We wish to see an end to all kinds of interference in domestic affairs of other people and their right to a free and independent development should be observed. Those circles, which believe that they can promote a policy of enmity in Europe should clearly understand that such a policy is at variance with the documents signed in Helsinki and with the UN Charter itself and it does not serve cooperation and security in Europe and in the world. Developing cooperation and establishing a united Europe require respect for the independence of each nation and noninterference in domestic affairs of other countries! Proceeding from these realities, we will have to decide in what way to act in the future in order to take a firmer position against the manifestations of imperialist countries and their plans and programs of interference in socialist countries' affairs, destabilization, and financing a policy of renouncing the construction of socialism.

As far as Romania's relations with socialist countries are concerned, our position has always been and continues to be the achievement of an increasingly wider cooperation and of finding joint solutions to the issues of socioeconomic development and of building socialism in our countries.

I would like to suggest that the PEC assesses that the international activity of our party and state is in accordance with the current international situation and we should continue to work in this spirit and actively participate in the work of finding solutions to the complex international problems.

Our country will continue to work most consistently to ensure that the current session of the United Nation General Assembly makes an important contribution to the policy of disarmament and detente, to finding constructive solutions to all interstate conflicts, to eliminating underdevelopment, and strengthening cooperation among all countries and peoples who desire peace and cooperation.

Our position is well known on all other international issues, so I do not want to dwell on them now.

As far as the visit paid to our country by the president of the Republic of Afghanistan, Najibullah, is concerned, it was a working visit. We discussed issues of developing bilateral relations and proceeded to a useful exchange of views on the need for cooperation between our countries in the economic, political, and other fields of activity. Likewise, we discussed Afghanistan's problems. President Najibullah asked us help him solve their problems through national reconciliation. We have already taken a number of steps to assist in finding political solutions in Afghanistan through national reconciliation, however, by maintaining it as a democratic, independent, and nonaligned country, in which, certainly, the People's Democratic Party and the current government should continue to play an important role, also in the future. This is the way in which we would like to extend help for solutions to problems in Afghanistan.

In conclusion, I would like to stress once again that all county party and state committees, bodies, and organizations should take most resolute actions to raise the level of the entire activity in industry, agriculture, investments, and in all the other fields of activity and to solve effectively all problems that might emerge in the process of appropriately fulfilling plans, thus meeting the 14th Party Congress with increasingly greater successes in the socioeconomic development of our country and in the activity of implementing our party's program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring Romania's advancement toward communism. UNCLAS 2R/LD

Leaders' Public Appearances for 16-22 Sep

AU2309161989

[Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 16-22 period (sources of each report given in parentheses):

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu paid a working visit to Suceava County on 16 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0835 GMT 16 Sep 89) The same day they met with the Suceava County party Bureau in Suceava. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 16 Sep 89) On 17 September, Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu paid a working visit to Botosani County. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1535 GMT 17 Sep 89) On 18 September, they met with the Botosani County party bureau in Botosani. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1615 GMT 18 Sep

89) The same day, Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu returned to Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1620 GMT 18 Sep 89)

President Nicolae Ceausescu received PRC Machine-Building Minister Zou Jiahua in Bucharest on 20 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1724 GMT 20 Sep 89) The same day, Nicolae Ceausescu received the credentials of the new British ambassador, Michael William Atkinson, in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1525 GMT 20 Sep 89)

Ion Dinca, member of the Policial Executive Committee [PEC] and first deputy prime minister, signed the Romanian-PRC commission session protocol, together with PRC Machine-Building Minister Zou Jiahua in Bucharest on 21 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1456 GMT 21 Sep 89)

Vasile Barbulescu, Central Committee secretary, received Ponomarev-led CPSU delegation in Bucharest on 16 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1557 GMT 16 Sep 89)

Suzana Gadea, PEC candidate member, attended an event marking the GDR days of culture in Bucharest on 19 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1330 GMT 19 Sep 89)

Nicolae Giosan, PEC candidate member and chairman of the Grand National Assembly, met with Cypriot President Vasiliou in Nicosia on 19 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1848 GMT 19 Sep 89) On 21 September, Nicolae Giosan met with Egyptian President Husni Mubarak in Cairo. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1739 GMT 21 Sep 89)

Constantin Olteanu, PEC member, met with Politburo member Guenter Mittag in East Berlin on 22 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1841 GMT 22 Sep 89)

Ion Stoian, PEC candidate member, met with Iranian President Rafsanjani in Tehran on 20 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1734 GMT 20 Sep 89)

Ioan Toma, first secretary of the Union of Communist Youth, addressed a Romanian-Soviet youth friendship meeting in Bucharest on 22 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 22 Sep 89)

Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade, met with CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec at Brno machine-building fair on 18 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 18 Sep 89)

Slovene Presidency Defends Amendments

AU2609161189 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] The republican information center reports that at its session today, the Presidency of Slovenia discussed yesterday's letter by the SFRY Presidency, which contains stances on the possible constitutional law consequences of the amendments to the Slovene Constitution being adopted in their present form.

First the Presidency of Slovenia notes that the SFRY Presidency adopted its stances in the absence of and without the agreement by the Presidency member from our republic, because the SFRY Presidency rejected the proposal by the Slovene Presidency that, in view of the absence of President Janez Drnovsek and in accordance with the SFRY Constitution, the session should be attended by the president of the Presidency of Slovenia.

Thus, the conclusions on very important problems concerning our republic were adopted without the participation or presence of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

The Presidency of Slovenia does not accept the supposition that some proposed amendments to the Slovene Constitution conflict with the federal Constitution, and it resolutely rejects the assertions that the adoption of these amendments will cause unfavorable consequences for the security and unity of the state, and inefficiency in the implementation of the functions of the federation. Such assessments, the Presidency of Slovenia stresses, are untenable, and if the SFRY Presidency acts on such a basis, it would cause irreparable consequences for the relations in Yugoslavia and among its peoples.

The Constitutional Commission of the Slovene Assembly had discussed the wording of the amendments in all seriousness, and it responsibly considered all of the warnings, including those conveyed by the federal Presidency. The Presidency of Slovenia is convinced that the delegates of the Slovene Assembly will also responsibly judge and decide upon the proposed constitutional amendments. However, pressure on their work is unacceptable and can only harm the joint interests of all the peoples and nationalities.

The Presidency of Slovenia therefore strives for a political climate in which the republican Assembly will decide on the constitutional changes of Slovenia in a dignified way and in peace.

Officials View Amendments as 'Sovereign Right'

AU2509163389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Next Wednesday [27 September], the Slovene Republican Constitutional Commission will present to the delegates of the Slovene Assembly a report on the amendments that have been prepared. The commission today worked in an expanded form because, as pointed out, it had sufficient reasons to do so. It discussed among other things the controversial amendments and the letter of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense which was sent to Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene Presidency, by the SFRY Presidency as a confidential document. Here is a report from Ljubljana by Relja Atanasijevic:

The most interesting question was whether the letter of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense can be made public or not. There were several views concerning this question. Janez Stanovnik said that he had forwarded the letter to the Republican Constitutional Commission because it was the commission's duty to discuss it. He was in two minds as to whether to get in touch with the state presidency and to inform it about this matter. Miran Potrc was of the opinion that this was a confidential document and that the SFRY Presidency should be informed about it by telegram. There were also views that there was no need to send any telegrams or make any telephone calls to Belgrade.

After these polemics, the commission in its expanded form continued its work on the six controversial amendments which, as known, have disturbed the public in the country.

Chairman Miran Potrc gave priority to the amendments. He also said that the assembly delegates, who are due to meet on Wednesday, have already been informed about the warnings of the SFRY Presidency, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and other bodies, and that their views should be taken into account just like all other views.

Milan Kucan stressed that it was Slovenia's sovereign right to adopt amendments to its constitution and that it must make sure that these do not contradict the federal constitution. Citing Article 206 of the SFRY Constitution, he said that the republican constitutional provisions are not in contradiction with the federal constitution and that the Federal Constitutional Court may also express its view, as is its legitimate right. He recommended that the controversial amendments be formulated more specifically. He said that views different to those held in Slovenia could have political, but not legal consequences.

Joze Smole stressed that the critical objections have already been discussed in Slovenia. Today, he told me that he is of the opinion that there must be no retreat, not even a millimeter.

Miran Potrc said that the only thing left to be done is the editorial elaboration of the six controversial amendments.

On behalf of alternative movements, Matez Krivic submitted a written proposal that the amendment concerning emergency measures be reformulated. His proposal contains two important points: The first is that the Slovene representative in the SFRY Presidency cannot express his agreement without being authorized to do so by his republican assembly. The other points boils down

to the following: If the Slovene view is outvoted, then the Slovene members of the SFRY Presidency and other Slovene representatives in federal organs are obliged to demand that the emergency measures be postponed until they have been discussed by the Slovene Assembly.

The Republican Constitutional Commission continued its work by discussing the edited text of all Slovene amendments. It has also decided to hold its next session on Wednesday during the session of all three chambers of the Slovene Assembly, probably around 1300, because this session will be necessary in order to discuss some outstanding issues, particularly the new election and assembly system.

Kucan Concludes 26 Sep Slovene Plenum

AU2609133089 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1153 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Speech by Milan Kucan, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, concluding the 30th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia in Ljubljana on 26 Sep—live]

[Text] I propose that we conclude this session. First I propose that we take into account the nature of this session. We said at the beginning that the intention of the session was to enable Slovenia's members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee [LCY CC] to prepare for the discussion, which is to say that our session serves as a kind of a consultative meeting before the session [of the LCY Central Committee] this afternoon, and at the same time is also a consultative meeting for our delegates in the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Slovene Assembly, and of course for all the delegates who are members of our organization and who will make decisions tomorrow at the Slovene Assembly session in keeping with their views and with the guidance they have received in their basic self-managing organizations and communities.

I propose some of the following conclusions for deliberation and adoption. I think that after our talks and after the discussion today, they are perhaps of key importance for what we must decide today. Please listen to them and we may then discuss them.

I propose the following sequence of these stances:

First, that the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia at its session today, in accordance with its principled stands on the role of the League of Communists of Slovenia and its own role, is firmly of the view that the adoption of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia within the unified constitutional system of the SFRY is a sovereign right and responsibility of the Slovene people or the highest organ of its sovereign power, the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, which in the constitutionally prescribed procedure expresses the will of the Slovene people, its workers, and all the citizens of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia regarding its own Constitution determined in a democratic discussion.

This Central Committee considers any interference and restriction of the free decision by the delegates in the Slovene Assembly as an impermissible restriction and violation of the sovereignty of the Slovene people, contrary to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the SFRY Constitution, with which it cannot agree, and it will therefore oppose it.

The denial of this function of the republican assembly, which is determined by the SFRY Constitution, is the best evidence that the entire discussion does not concern the preservation of the spirit and the letter of the SFRY Constitution but is an attempt to discipline the sovereign Slovene state, (?and it would be) contrary to the will of the people of this republic and contrary to the basic principles of the SFRY Constitution to yield to such pressure.

Second, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia supports the direction of the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. We are convinced that their content expresses our stands and views on the creation of the conditions for creating a modern Slovene and Yugoslav socialist society, which we have called socialism made to the measure for man.

We are also convinced that the constitutional amendments are an expression of the will, conviction, and interests of the majority of the Slovenes and other citizens of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. We have participated during the drafting of the constitutional amendments all the time from the starting points of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia to the changes to the Constitution, and the constitutional amendments are also an expression of our work. The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia therefore directs the delegates of the League of Communists of Slovenia in the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Assembly of Slovenia to support the amendments, and proposes that other delegates, members of the League of Communists of Slovenia, should do the same in accordance with the directions and powers received in their self-managing organizations and communities.

Third, in the opinion of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, there are no convincing reasons for any postponement of the adoption of the constitutional amendments. Article 206 of the SFRY Constitution, a constitution to which we, too, have given our consent, was always one of the starting points for work in drafting the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. On the basis of this article, the work of the Constitutional Commission and the Assembly was weighty and based on proper arguments the whole time; it considered all the proposals and observations, including the ones that warned about the alleged and possible conflict between the constitutional amendments and the SFRY Constitution.

We are convinced that the delegates at the session tomorrow will work in the same responsible way.

The Central Committee firmly maintains the position that a possible discord or conflict with the federal Constitution can only be established through a constitutional procedure. One cannot safeguard constitutional provisions by unconstitutional means. In the assessment of the Central Committee, it is a cause of concern that, or if, this is done, or if it is attempted, by those organs that are called on first to guard the Constitution.

Fourth, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia is convinced that there is no acceptable reason for convening the session of the LCY CC today, not because we would in any way deny the right of this organ to adopt stands on open political questions but because the session has been convened in a manner and at a time when it cannot mean anything else but an exertion of unacceptable political pressure on the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, which is to adopt the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia tomorrow.

The Central Committee also stresses the responsibility of the Presidium of the LCY CC, which convened the session in opposition to the Statute and in a way that prevents the great majority of the members of the LCY CC from discussing and deciding, on the basis of their own thorough reflection and their knowledge of the problems, on questions that may have extremely far reaching consequences for relations in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and for relations in the SFRY, and might even lead to a split in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Fifth, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia proposes to the members of the LCY CC from our republic that they explain our stands and our understanding of the proposed constitutional amendments actively, in a measured and dignified way, and with good arguments, and that they draw attention to the extremely dangerous negative consequences for the situation in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and for the activities of the League of Communists of Slovenia caused by pressure among a portion of the public, some of the public media, and political and state organs of the federation.

In particular it appears unacceptable to us that the political and state organs of the federation have not waited even for the conclusion of the work of the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly of our republic, so that they could get acquainted with its definition of the several provisions and its considered answers to the reproaches to the effect that some provisions conflict with the SFRY Constitution.

Sixth, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia does not accept the political qualifications and assessments which, after a poorly considered and often superficial knowledge of the content of the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, have been expressed not only at the expense of these amendments but also concerning the situation in the League of Communists of Slovenia and especially the situation in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

The assessments about a counterrevolution, about the wrecking of the unity of the constitutional system, about the violation or endangering of the integrity of the state, and about the prevention of the exercise of powers by federal organs, including the armed forces, are in their nature and considering the place where they were uttered such that they call for action. If these assessments are adopted, one can no longer draw back: it will be another step in the affirmation of the practice of settling social, political, and development problems by proclaiming a state of emergency.

The Central Committee is particularly worried because it interprets these happenings within the increasingly obvious and sharp conflict between, on the one side, the forces of authoritarianism and aggression, which are the chief danger to the future and to the implementation of the economic reforms, the reforms of the political system, and the improvement of the material and other conditions of life and work of our people, a democratization of this life, and stable and equal relations; and, on the other side, the forces of reform and democratic socialism that want to implement all this.

These forces also exist within the League of Communists, and within the LCY CC. We are worried about which forces the LCY CC will extend its support to in its manner of discussion, now before the 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress.

In our firm conviction, what is at stake is not just our fate but the fate of progress, freedom, democracy, and of socialism throughout Yugoslavia.

And here is the last conclusion or stand: The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia insists on the stand that it cannot agree to any conclusion that would bind the Slovene Communists to any conduct that would oppose the feelings, the views, the will, and the interests of the Slovene people. The Slovene Communists would thus be put in a position that they have never occupied, that they cannot and do not wish to occupy, for it would mean a departure from the point adopted at the very birth of our organization, at Cebine, with the well-known formulation that the Slovene Communists put all their forces at the disposal of the Slovene people, to whom we also express our unshakable loyalty.

I think it is possible to draw these conclusions from the present session. It is relevant not only for this moment but also for our future actions. Now I wonder whether it is possible to adopt this on the basis of hearing it, or do you want it to be transcribed, and that we then discuss the wording? I also ask whether there are any proposals to expand or to reduce these conclusions.

[After some indistinct voices from the hall, Kucan continues] I understand that the proposal is to take a vote on this. Who is in favor of the conclusions worded in this way? Thank you. Is anybody of a different opinion? [applause—announcer then indicates that the conclusions were adopted]

Slovene Assembly To Discuss Amendments 27 Sep

AU2709073789 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 0700 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] The session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has concluded in Belgrade. It discussed the political aspects of the adoption of the amendments to the Slovene Constitution. In conclusion, the Central Committee members voted on the stances: 97 members were in favor of the proposed stances, 40 were against, and 1 abstained.

All the members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee from Slovenia were against the adoption of the stances.

Today the delegates of the Slovene Assembly will discuss the proposed amendments to the republican Constitutions. After an introduction by Miran Potrc, president of the Constitutional Commission, at a joint session, the delegates will discuss the amendments at separate sessions of the chambers.

Each chamber will vote on the constitutional amendments separately. A two-thirds majority is needed in each chamber. It is expected that the constitutional amendments will be promulgated at a joint session in the middle of the afternoon.

The agenda for the session of the Slovene Assembly today is a comprehensive report on the economic position of the republic, about which Dusan Sinigoj, president of the republican Executive Council, will speak to the delegates.

Assembly Session Opens

LD2709095689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0901 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Miran Potrc, chairman of the commission for constitutional issues for the Slovenian Socialist Republic Assembly, opened the Slovenian Socialist Republic Assembly session today with an introductory speech. Potrc stressed: We firmly believe that our constitutional amendments enhance rather than destroy the concept of Yugoslavia as a free, democratic, and equal community of our nations and nationalities.

At their joint session, delegates to all three chambers of Slovene Assembly will hear a report by Dusan Sinigoj, president of the republic's Executive Council, on economic trends in Slovenia this year and on the measures of the Federal Executive Council.

LCY Plenum on Slovene Amendments Opens 26 Sep

AU2609160689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] As you probably know by now, the session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opened in the Sava Center in Belgrade about 15-20 minutes ago. The session had been convoked on the occasion of the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. Our colleague Momcilo Boskovic reports from the Sava Center:

Milan Pancevski, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, opened the extraordinary session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia exactly at 1610. At this session, the Central Committee is to discuss ideopolitical problems broached by some of the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. The working presidium was then elected. Apart from Pancevski, the following people were elected to it: Stefan Korosec, Ljubomir Varoslija, Rahman Morina, and Vladan Kartesic.

Milica Stanivukovic was the first to ask to be given the floor. She has proposed that the session be adjourned because the political motives for convoking it are unclear to her. She reproached the Central Committee Presidium for having convoked the plenum yesterday and for holding the session 1 hour before the debate to be held at the SFRY Assembly. Borut Suklje also opposed the holding of the plenum.

Radio Reports Debate

AU2609192789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Good evening respected listeners. At a session called at short notice the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee members are discussing the amendments to the Slovene Constitution. You were able to hear reports on the session until about 10 minutes ago, when the session was adjourned so that the Central Committee members could familiarize themselves with the documents prepared for the discussion. We are calling on our Novi Sad correspondent, Grozdana Pasin, to briefly inform us about the beginning of the Central Committee's work:

Establishing the Central Committee extraordinary session's agenda and the remarks by Milan Pancevski, president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium, that the session was called at the request of the majority of Presidium members, the discussion opened on whether the ideopolitical aspects of the working version of the draft Slovene Constitution amendments should be discussed or not.

Milica Stanivukovic proposed that this topic should not be discussed today because, as she said, the Presidium did not define this gathering's political aims. She asked whether the Presidium was not putting the Central

Committee in a position to discuss things and make political assessments without having been properly prepared and without clear political aims.

Borut Suklje was of a similar opinion. He stressed that this session was not called at the initiative of the League of Communists of Slovenia Central Committee and that one should conclude that none of the official organs in Slovenia were of the opinion that the Slovene constitutional amendments are controversial or questionable.

This is premeditated political pressure, an attempt to limit and prevent the sovereign will of the people, who are joining in common life in Yugoslavia of their own will and on their own decision.

Milan Pancevski explained the Presidium's decision to urgently call the session. The Presidium decided to do so because during the discussion on the ideopolitical aspects of the questions concerning the working text of some proposed amendments to the Slovene Constitution in the last three sessions it had concluded that some of them are not in accordance with the SFRY Constitution and that this significantly violated some essential principles of the federation's functioning, disturbed relations in it, and threatened the implementation of the federation's constitutional functions.

The SFRY Presidency and other federal organs came to the same conclusion about the controversial amendments, Pancevski said.

Like Boris Muzevic, Bozidar Debenjak contested the reasons for calling the Central Committee extraordinary session. Debenjak was of the opinion that any pressure from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on the postponement of the adoption of the amendments to the Slovene Constitution would be unconstitutional.

Mitar Janjic stressed that nobody is accusing the Slovene delegates and that it would not be fair for the whole of Yugoslavia not to hold a discussion about this today.

Marko Brdaric asked why the Presidium of the Central Committee did not discuss other excessive situations, such as the most impudent attacks on the Yugoslav borders.

Sergej Krajger held the view that one should have adapted the theses on relations in the federation to the real bases before the Central Committee session, and should smooth out differences before the congress.

Vukasin Micunovic stressed that he respected the right of every federal unit to draft its constitution.

Drago Sofranac favored a discussion on this topic.

Darinka Djuraskovic asked why this session had not been held earlier and what could the Central Committee discuss.

Janez Kocijancic and Nijaz Skederovic wanted to know the purpose of this discussion 16 hours before the session of the Slovene Assembly.

Stanoje Stojanovic was in favor of a discussion, and said that the discussion should go ahead in view of the fact that the whole matter was a serious political problem in our country.

Many competent people at the federal level have already expressed their views, and the stands of the official organs of Slovenia are also known, Milo Djukanovic said. He wanted the working Presidium to stop the torturing of Central Committee members. Djukanovic said that at present there are no important questions for the League of Communists of Yugoslavia or for Yugoslavia. [as heard]

After the discussion between several more Central Committee members, the delegates decided by a majority vote to put on the agenda the ideopolitical aspects of the working text of the draft amendments to the Slovene Constitution.

The opening speech was made by Ljubomir Varoslija, who stressed that the proposal of some amendments has created serious political problems which must be resolved. He spoke about the activities to date to remove the text's weaknesses. He stressed that the result was the scrapping of the provision on the peacetime use of the Yugoslav Armed Forces. However, he could not say whether all the problems had been solved. He expressed the hope that the Central Committee members from Slovenia will contribute to the ideopolitical clarification.

TANJUG Reports Highlights

LD2709064589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0600 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 27 (TANJUG)—The current political problems in Yugoslavia, created after the latest move of the northern Yugoslav republic of Slovenia to include regulations on self-determination and possible secession in its constitution, were the topic of a heated debate at the session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee, which lasted throughout the night and continued into early morning hours.

President of the Central Committee Presidency Milan Pancevski said that the proposed amendments to the Slovenian constitution which regulate the key questions of the functioning of the federation, the realisation of equality among the nations and nationalities and the role of the armed forces, were not in conformity with the Constitution. He added that we should not close our eyes in front of the serious consequences that their adoption could provoke, bearing in mind that some solutions could result in a conflict between the Slovenian and the federal organs, and even in confrontation with other Yugoslav nations.

Most of the participants agreed with Pancevski's assessment that the majority of the proposed amendments were in conformity with the principal committments of the LCY on the development of socialist self-managing socio-economic and political relations, that they presented a contribution to the operationalization and further creative working out of the amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution, and that they were in conformity with the further conceiving and realisation of the three reforms.

Pancevski stressed that the debate on the ideological and political aspects of some controversial amendments did not threaten the constitutional right of the Slovene people to freely, in accordance with the federal Constitution, regulate the relations in their own republic. This right has never been questioned.

The issues that form the basis of our society, however, are in the interest of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities. Therefore, they cannot be posed and defined in a partial and isolated manner, but must present a common interest and commitment. They are jointly treated and defined in the comprehensive process of reaching the new Federal Constitution, Pancevski said. Any other approach to these questions would be in conflict with the main democratic principles of Yugoslavia's system, as well as the principles of freedoms, rights and commitments of each man and citizen, of all nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia.

The debate continued early this morning in a polemical tone. The main question was what would be done if Slovenia failed to accept the proposal to postpone today's adoption of the disputed amendments.

The most often mentioned view was that there was still time for Slovenian Communists to influence the outcome of the Slovenian Assembly decision. In that case, the disputed amendments would become a constinuent part of the platform for overall changes in the Federal Constitution.

Representatives of the Armed Forces replied on several occasions to some participants in the debate who indirectly referred to the army leadership and the possibility of the introduction of special measures in case of an unresolved conflict. On behalf of the Armed Forces, Rear Admiral Petar Simic decisively rejected any insinuations, stressing that the Yugoslav national army—by its very name—is the instrument of no-one, nor is a mercenary army. It protects Yugoslavia's people and its stability.

Simic on Threat to Armed Forces

LD2609231889 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Summary] In her report from today's session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee, Ivana Sutlic-Peric includes highlights from the discussion by Petar Simic, president of the committee of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army.

"We in the army proceeded from an analysis and expert opinions," Petar Simic said, "and arrived at the conclusion that some of the solutions do threaten the functioning of the federation and, by implication, the position of the armed forces. We are aware of the need for constitutional changes and have been doing our utmost to speed up the work on and the adoption of the new Constitution. However, we keep stressing that the future of all our nations and nationalities must be built through joint efforts. Could the [adoption] of the controversial amendments not have been postponed until after the debate on the ideological foundations of the new constitution?" Simic added that as the things stand, we are witnessing the policy of fait accompli. Even the latest changes in Amendment 63 have not, in fact, altered its content about strict restrictions on the use of the armed forces, Petar Simic said. He explained in detail which solutions he disagrees with and why. These issues should be raised again and controversial solutions subjected to thorough consideration during the debate on the new Constitution. If today's session is not seen in this light, it is not good, Simic said and suggested that the Socialist Republic of Slovenia Assembly should postpone its session.

Postponement of Amendments Proposed

LD2709142789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0716 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee this morning proposed that the Slovenian Socialist Republic Assembly postpone the adoption of the controversial amendments. In the LCY Central Committee's view, the main reason for the existing problems over the changes to the Constitution of the Slovenian Socialist Republic lie in the fact that some of the propositions contained in a number of amendments concerning the position of the Republic of Slovenia in the federation and in the relations within it are being regulated by the republic's Constitution in a one-sided way.

This is being stressed, inter alia, in the standpoints and views of the LCY Central Committee, which met to discuss ideopolitical issues concerning proposals of some of the amendments to the Slovenian Socialist Republic Constitution. The following are the LCY Central Committee's standpoints and views:

1. The proposals to some of the amendments to the Constitution of the Slovenian Socialist Republic have created a number of political, constitutional, and legal prblems which are affecting the already-complicated political situation in the country and which can be of political consequence for the country's constitutional system, for relations within the federation, and for the

functioning of some of the federal organs if the controversial amendments, once adopted, prove to be in contradiction with the SFRY Constitution.

The LCY Central Committee has approached these issues from an ideopolitical viewpoint and in light of the LCY's role and responsibility in the political system. The LCY Central Committee proceeds from the LCY's declared policy on the fundamental principles of our social system, on the concept of the Yugoslav Federation, on intranational relations, and on other key issues of the society's development, and particularly on economic and social reform.

When analyzing the political nature and the seriousness of these problems, the LCY Central Committee took into consideration the SFRY Presidency's views and warning and a report by the SFRY Assembly's Commission for Constitutional Issues, that state that in their content some of the amendments to the constitution of the Slovenian Socialist Republic are contrary to the provisions of the SFRY Constitution. The LCY Central Committee was also mindful of the Federal Executive Council's view that it would be more rational if, before they are adopted, the solutions contained in some of the amendments to the Constitution of the Slovenian Socialist Republic as well as the Slovene LC Central Committee conclusions on these issues, are reexamined from the point of view of their hamony with the SFRY Constitution.

The LCY Central Committee is of the view that the controversial proposed amendments to the constitution of the Slovenian Socialist Republic raise a number of constitutional and political issues. It stresses that the problems thus created must be viewed comprehensively and resolved to prevent changes in the constitutionally arranged relations in the SFRY and all this with the aim of securing an equal position for the federal units, harmony in the constitutions and legal system, and for the country's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

2. The LCY Central Committee supports the proposal to postpone the adoption of the controversial amendments by the Slovenian Socialist Republic Assembly. This would provide time in which to thoroughly consider and reexamine the amendments, with the aim of arriving at acceptable solutions; the constitutional organs in the Slovenian Socialist Republic would then; in line with their constitutional powers, make a decision.

3. The LCY Central Committee is of the opinion that the main reason behind the problems surrounding the changes in the Slovenian Socialist Republic Constitution lies in the fact that some of the propositions contained in a number of amendments concerning the position of the Republic of Slovenia in the federation and in the relations within it are being regulated by the republic's Constitution in a one-sided way. It is the sovereign right of the Slovene people, and of all other nations and nationalities, the working people and citizens in Slovenia, to make decisions about and to change the Constitution of their republic. At the same time, however, it is their right and duty, together with all other nations and nationalities, the working people and citizens in other republics, make a decision on tbe basis of the SFRY Constitution, on the social and state system in Yugoslavia as a federal state and as a democratic socialist and federal community.

In view of this, the issues such as the right of a people to self-determination and secession, the position of the federal units, and the functioning of and the way of realizing common interest in the federation, must be raised and resolved democratically in political organizations and competent institutions of the social and state system and within the framework of the forthcoming reform of the political system, and especially as part of the work on drawing up a new SFRY constitution. This arises from the need to resolve vital issues of interest to all the nations and nationalities through a dialogue and on the basis of their own common will and relations of full equality. The LCY Central Committee, therefore, stresses the need for appropriately formulating these issues as a part of the ideopolitical platform for the LCY's activity in reforming the political system. This also includes the need to eliminate existing shortcomings in the current SFRY Constitution and for the 14th extraordinary LCY Congress to give its opinion about them. All communists and LC organizations and organs will have to act in accordance with a democratically adopted and single platform. To this end, a comparative analysis should be conducted of the amendments contained in the constitutions of other republics and of the provinces from the viewpoint of equality of the nations and nationalities and the functioning of the constitutional-legal system. This analysis would be used in the work on drawing up an ideopolitical platform of changes in the political system.

4. The LCY Central Committee emphasizes the special responsibility resting with the Slovene Communists and all their organizations and organs to act in line with these standpoints and the LCY's overall policy in this sphere in overcoming the existing problems and in the efforts to find the best solutions for pulling out of the current situation. This duty and responsibility rests with all LC members, organizations, and organs. To act in this way is in the vital interest of the Slovene working class and people, of Yugoslav Communists, and of Yugoslavia's working class and its nations and nationalities. The LCY has the duty to create a political atmosphere conducive to democratic dialogue, to the principled and well-argued solutions of all the problems concerning the overall situation in and the development of our society.

5. The LCY Central Committee places special emphasis on the Communists' duty to oppose unprincipled confrontations between individual political leaderships and environments, in the media and in social and political life in general; to prevent further negative attitudes toward any of our nations and nationalities; to continue

to work toward stabilization in intranational relations and enhanced trust among them on the basis of equality, brotherhood, and unity of all Yugoslav nations and nationality; and to safeguard the SFRY's integrity.

Session Ends

LD2709085389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0655 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—Shortly before 0800 [0700 GMT] this morning the League of Communists [LCY] Central Committee ended its session at which it discussed ideo-political issues concerning the working text of the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

Over half of the LCY Central Committee members took part in the debate. Toward the end of the session the LCY Central Committee views and standpoints on this issue were adopted by a majority vote.

Belgrade Assembly Discusses Slovene Amendments

LD2709024389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1620 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—People of Belgrade are expressing their worries over the fate and future of Yugoslavia. We are resolutely committed to prevent all those who want to secede from the SFRY, want to change its borders, foment intra-national hatred, and attack the Yugoslav People's Army. Yugoslavia can prosper only as a federal state with efficient federal organs and competences.

Belgrade mayor Aleksandar Bakocevic stressed this at today's session of the capital's assembly by emphasizing its full support for the stands of the SFRY Presidency, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee, and the Socialist Alliance of Working People regarding the proposed amendments to the constitution of Socialist Republic of Slovenia. The first move should be to postpone the adoption of the controversial amendments and prevent the warnings given on the grounds of negative consequences for the unity of Yugoslavia and the efficient functioning of the federation from being ignored, Bakocevic said. [passage omitted]

Federal Assembly Commission Calls for Postponement

LD2609225389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1849 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 26 (TANJUG)—The Slovenian Assembly should postpone at its session tomorrow the adoption of the controversial proposed amendments to the constitution of that republic, the Yugoslav Assembly's commission for constitutional questions concluded at its session today.

The commission's members from Slovenia disassociated themselves from this and other standpoints adopted by the body after a session lasting the whole day.

The commission proposed to the Yugoslav Assembly's federal chamber to adopt at its meeting this evening a conclusion according to which all organs and organizations in Yugoslavia would, regardless of the outcome of the adoption of the proposed amendments to the Slovenian Constitution, be obliged to consistently implement the Yugoslav Constitution.

The commission adopted by a majority of votes the assessment that several amendments to the Slovenian Constitution were in collision with the federal constitution. The commission will inform on its views the Yugoslav Assembly's Federal Chamber, which convenes in Belgrade this evening.

Federal Chamber Votes to Postpone Amendments

LD2709041289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0225 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 27 (TANJUG)—The federal chamber of the Yugolsav Federal Assembly late last night proposed to the assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia to postpone the adoption of disputed amendments to the Republic's Constitution.

By a majority of votes, the chamber assessed that the proposed seven amendments to the Slovenian Constitution contained certain solutions which were in conflict with the Federal Constitution. The delegates of the federal chamber expressed the conviction that the Slovenian assembly would accept their proposals.

The federal chamber concluded that all the bodies and organisations in Yugoslavia were obliged to consistently implement the regulations of the federal constitution, regardless of the outcome of the adoption of the proposed amendments to the Slovenian Constitution.

The delegates of the federal chamber did not accept the proposal of a group of Slovenian delegates that the debate on the possible constitutional and legal consequences of adopting the proposed amendments be held under a so-called special procedure, which implies postponing the debate by at least 24 hours.

One hundred and ten delegates voted against the proposal, five were in favour, while five refrained from voting.

The decision came after the chamber legislative commission concluded that the necessary regulations for conducting the session under a special procedure were not met.

The Slovenian delegates demanded that the question not be discussed, since there were no reasons for this, and since under the federal Constitution, the federal chamber was not authorized to discuss proposed constitutional changes in any federal unit. The majority of Slovenian delegates view the debate on the amendments as a form of pressure on the assembly of Slovenia, which is due to adopt the amendments today.

Several delegates pointed out that the amendments to the Slovenian Constitution brought a number of positive changes and innovations to the Yugoslav constitutional practice, but warned about the untenability of those regulations which threaten Yugoslavia as a federation, enable the weakening of the system of total national defence and secure the right to secession and unification with other countries.

We would be better off living together than as neighbours, legalizing the existing mistrust, one of the delegates said. The debate on the Slovenian Constitution, however, should not be seen as an issue of disputing the right of the Slovene people to decide on their constitution, but primarily as concern about Yugoslavia. We cannot allow the legalization of anyone's privileged position, and the most ardent advocates of a legal and democratic state cannot offer a classical case of violation of constitutionality instead, delegates from other republics said.

TANJUG Surveys Reaction to Amendments

LD2609230689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2020 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 26 (TANJUG)—Numerous statements and messages were issued throughout Yugoslavia today in reaction to the dramatic situation created by a conflict between the federal organs and the political leadership of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia over draft amendments to the republican constitution.

An offshoot of the Ljubljana-based association For Yugoslav Democratic Initiative (AYDI) proposes an additional clause to the Slovene Constitutional amendment regulating the rights of other nations living in the republic.

The AYDI maintains that the Slovene Constitution must guarantee to all the Yugoslav nations and nationalities the right to express and develop their culture, found their national organizations and exercise other rights guaranteed under the federal Constitution. The present version of Amendment 43 envisages this right only for the Hungarian and Italian minorities in Slovenia.

Speaking during a tour of a number of Macedonian collectives, member of the presidency of Yugoslavia from Macedonia Vasil Tupurkovski said that the top Yugoslav leadership would exercise to the full its constitutional authority, particularly in ensuring the vital functions of the state, such as its territorial integrity, recourse to the armed forces, etc.

'The common denominator of all reactions to the Slovene amendments voiced today is an assessment that these amendments call in question the functioning of the federation in the entire territory of the country. Numerous messages addressed to the federal political leadership demand that all political method be employed to prevent the adoption of the six controversial amendments and a 'retailoring of Yugoslavia'. [quotation marks as received] They also demand that the Yugoslav Constitution be applied in case of a clash between the federal and the republican constitutions.

The presidents of the republics and provinces reacted in a similar manner in a poll conducted by the Yugoslav news AGENCTANJUG. It is interesting to note that the poll brought to light [words indistinct] negative implications of the conflict for Yugoslavia's international position. The view was also put forth that a country- wide referendum should be held on the unity of Yugoslavia. The only different view was put forth by president of the Slovene republic Presidency Janez Stavnik who, speaking about pressures to change the controversial amendments, stressed that 'a bond between nations cannot be forged by force, but only freedom'.

SAWP, Council on 'Dangerous' Separatism

LD2609161989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1351 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—Slovene separatism must be openly and resolutely told to cease in the same way that Albanian and any other separatism threatening Yugoslavia have been told. This conclusion was reached today at a joint session of the Belgrade Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] City Conference Presidium and the Belgrade City Trade Union council in the course of a discussion about the current political situation in the country.

The conclusions stress what is at issue here is one of the most dangerous forms of separatism, despite the manner in which it is being presented to the public.

Belgrade SAWP City Conference and the Trade Union Council have therefore decided to speak out in favor of defending our country's integrity. They are demanding that Yugoslavia remain the equal community of its nations and nationality, a federal and socialist country as created by the revolution.

This conclusion, which was unanimously adopted, was read out by Dragan Tomic, president of the Belgrade SAWP City Conference.

SAWPY Issues Statement on Slovene Amendments

AU2609144289 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Sep 89 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Statement by the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Proceeding from its constitutional duties, as the organizer of the public debate on constitutional changes and the programs of political activities adopted by the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, and taking into account the assessments and stands on the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia expressed by the SFRY Presidency and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the

League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia stresses that the future discussions on these amendments should be held in an atmosphere of greater mutual trust and openness, without harmful polarization and one-sided prejudging of constitutional provisions concerning the questions that are of common interest for the entire country.

Proceeding from its own sovereignty, the equality of the federal subjects, and their responsibility for the total development of the SFRY, it is the duty of all the subjects participating in the creation of new constitutional provisions to consistently protect and implement the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles and to contribute to the strengthening of the unity of socialist self-managing Yugoslavia.

The Presidium of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia expresses its concern about the preservation of the basic principles of the SFRY Constitution, but has confidence and expects that the working people and citizens, and particularly the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia, will provide the delegates of the Slovene Assembly with the guidelines which will enable them to adopt constitutional amendments which are not in contradiction with SFRY Constitution, and which will contribute to the strengthening of the unity of the federal organization of our multinational community.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Considers Slovene Issue

LD2709024189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1310 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Socialist Alliance Working People [SAWP] republican conference today discussed some current open issues in the country in the framework of the preparations for the forthcoming session of the conference. It was concluded that the democratic dialogue on the controversial amendments to the constitution of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia, suggested by the SAWP federal conference, was not accepted.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina SAWP Presidium is hoping that the delegates of the SR of Slovenia will after all acknowledge the concern of the working people and citizens over the future of the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] based Yugoslavia.

The amendments to the constitution of the SR of Slovenia, Kasim Trnka said in the course of discussion, have long been displayed before the public and it is only now that the debate on them is becoming a heated one. In his opinion among the controversial amendments there are also those what are not controversial. At the same time among the rest of them there are yet other ones that so far have not been discussed.

Ante Maric maintains that the public should have not been involved in discussing the controversial amendments, all the more so since it was not difficult at all to establish whether or not the amendments were in accordance with the SFRY Constitution. He maintains that Bosnia-Hercegovina is not expressing its attitude toward these issues resolutely and energetically. [passage omitted]

Government Announces 'Liberalization' of Prices

LD2009212989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1536 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, September 20 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Federal Government today announced a further liberalization of prices, as part of its programme of a market-oriented economy.

The prices of coal, liquid fuels, pharmaceuticals and the products of the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgies and the basic chemical industry will from now on be formed in keeping with market criteria, as assistant director of the Federal Administration for Prices Luka Novakovic told a news conference today.

Three-fourths of the prices in Yugoslavia are freely formed at the moment, whereas 13.6 percent are directly controlled by the state. The remaining prices are formed on the basis of agreements reached by producers within the so-called large systems.

Deputy Yugoslav Secretry for Trade Branko Maricic said that a slower growth of inflation was expected in Yugoslavia in September. The annual inflation rate now approaches 900 percent. He also said that, if the government's anti-inflation measures were consistently implemented, a drop in the inflation rate was possible next year.

Assistant Yugoslav Secretary for Labour Milenko Pavlovic reiterated that the federal government of Premier Ante Markovic did not intend to freeze personal incomes but only to insist on a move toward consistent application of the rule that personal incomes be kept in line with the actual business results.

A further liberalization of exports and an increase in the imports of consumer goods were also announced at today's news conference. The two steps are, as set out, to help lower the inflation by developing a healthy competition on the domestic market. 87 percent of the total Yugoslav imports now fall under a free regime.

Changes in the national legislation, aimed at enabling foreign citizens to set up commercial firms in Yugoslavia, were also announced at the news conference. The changes, as set out, will mark only a step further towards opening up the Yugoslav market to foreign capital.

Albanian Protesters Sentenced in Pristina

AU2509173089

[Editorial Report] Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian on 22 September on page nine carries two reports of the trials of participants in various protests of ethnic Albanians.

An 800-word report entitled "Story About Shots Near Krajiste," attributed to A. Muhaxheri, states: "The trial of three high school graduates, Shukri Buja (23) from the village of Bujane; Isuf Sherifi (22) from Tetovo; and Besim Rrustemi (23) from the village of Banula near Lipljan, ended yesterday at Pristina District Court. Shukri was sentenced to 13 years imprisonment, Isuf to 6 years, and Besim to 2 years. The first was declared guilty under Articles 114 and 139 of the SFRY Penal Code, the second under Article 114, and the third under Article 133.

"The bench of five judges chaired by Metush Latifi brought to light the activities of the three accused. The first two partly denied the charges, stating that they were not "linked to Albanian emigres in Switzerland." Isuf added that he had not taken part in the demonstrations on 23 February, 25 March, and 13 May organized by hostile Albanian emigres in Geneva, Berne, and Zurich. However, Shukri and Isuf confessed to the court that they had engaged in propaganda activity, had written familiar Albanian nationalist and separatist slogans, and had distributed pamphlets in villages of Lipljan Commune." According to the report, Shukri Buja stated at the trial that on 7 June, near the village of Krajiste, "The militiaman Fatmir Qerimi asked for our identity cards. In order to frighten him, I fired the revolver I had in my pocket twice into the ground."

A 200-word report entitled "Sentenced for Demonstrating," attributed to "A.M.," states: "The trial at Pristina District Court of two accused, Fehim Tafa, from the village of Trbovac, and Islam Pacolli, a severely disabled person from the village of Slovija near Lipljan, ended yesterday after two sessions on 14 and 15 September. The accused were pronounced guilty of the crime of posing a counterrevolutionary threat to the social order, under Article 114 of the SFRY Penal Code, and were each sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment." According to the report, the militiaman Fatmir Qerimi identified Islam Pacolli as "a participant in the demonstration" in Lipljan on 27 March.

Drnovsek Returns From New York

AU2709083489 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 0700 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] It has been reported from Brnik that the airplane carrying Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, has landed at the airport. He was welcomed at the airport by Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of Slovenia; Dusan Sinigoj, president of the republican Executive Council; and Aleksander Ravnikar, vice president of the Slovene Assembly.

Stojanovic Receives USSR Ambassador 26 Sep

LD2709030589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1348 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—Dr Stanislav Stojanovic, executive secretary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium, today received Vadim Loginov, ambassador of the USSR in the SFRY.

Sundic Comments on U.S.-Soviet Ties

LD2509221389 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] At the end of the international events of Radio Zagreb's daily news, at 1515, we speak about new moves forward in Soviet-U.S. relations. In fact, the Americans are increasingly convinced, as is the rest of the West, that Mikhail Gorbachev will overcome the difficulties the USSR has been facing recently. Here is a commentary by Milika Sundic:

[Sundic] The USSR and the United States have achieved significant progress in the sphere of long-range missiles and chemical weapons and agreed—at least as far as this latter is concerned—on inspection measures equally acceptable to both sides. This is in fact the result of the 2 days of talks between Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker and the talks that the Soviet minister had with President George Bush. In fact the most important thing of all is the general progress in the relations between the two countries, which promises more comprehensive cooperation in many fields and even in the economic field, something the USSR is particularly interested in.

Disruption in Eastern Europe and in the USSR itself has not, it seems, had a major impact on the U.S. readiness to comprehend the troubles that have recently been facing Mikhail Gorbachev, and it might be said that there will not to too much hesitation in accepting them in the right way. To be more precise, the United States believes in Gorbachev and his readiness to persist in the implementation of perestroyka and economic reform and especially in Moscow's interest in going as far as possible in the sphere of disarmament—nuclear and conventional. It is perhaps a surprising fact that a meeting between Gorbachev and Bush will come about only at the end of spring next year, but this is probably the consequence of nuances yet to be agreed on in connection with long-range missiles and the volume of reductions in conventional weapons.

True, it is not known what all the things were that Gorbachev told Bush, but if one can judge by the initial reactions of the head of the White House, the views of the Soviet leader and the U.S. President relating to major international problems and regional crises and terrorism have never been closer than now. In the United States there has in fact existed a certain amount of doubt with respect to Gorbachev's future international activities, as a result of internal troubles, but it has proved to be

unfounded. The last plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in fact strengthened the position of Mikhail Gorbachev not only in the sphere of perestroyka and glasnost but also in the sphere of intranational relations. Gorbachev has the Politburo he wants—with some exceptions—and there is now probably no one in the country's top leadership who might prevent him from realizing his large-scale plans. Of course, there will continue to be national disturbances, something that will require additional efforts from the center, because it is patently obvious that this question was never resolved in the right way.

The Americans, like all of the West, have followed and are following everything that has happened in the USSR and it seems that finally they have assured themselves that at least in the international sphere there will not be any hold-ups in Soviet behavior. It could even be said that the West is surprised by the peacefulness with which the USSR has received the changes in Poland and the developments in Hungary, and to a certain extent also evertything that has recently taken place on the East German political scene. Furthermore, when Margaret Thatcher was in Moscow 2 days ago, one could assure oneself that the USSR would count seriously on the further relaxation of international tension and on even broader cooperation with the West.

This, in any event, ought to be in the interests of the West as indeed all others and this is why it would be good if the United States and its allies were to help Gorbachev sail out of his present troubles as soon as possible. By all accounts Bush promised this to Shevardnadze and one may justifiably claim that the East and West are embarking upon a new phase of relations that promise a more lasting and stable peace in the world.